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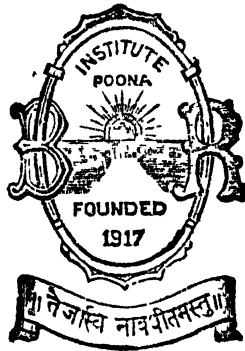
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# Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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VOL. XXVIII ]

JULY-OCTOBER 1947

[ PARTS III-IV

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## POLITICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN IRAN AND INDIA\*

BY

J. M. UNVALA

I. *Prehistoric times.*—Excavations carried out by the French archaeological Mission in Iran under the direction of Mr. J. de Morgan and Mr. R. de Mecquenem at Susa in Khuzistan, south-west Iran, by Mr. R. D. Banerji and Sir John Marshall at Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh and at Harappa in the Punjab, and soundings made by Sir Aurel Stein in ancient mounds along the route taken by Alexander the Great at the time of his expedition from Iran into India in Afghanistan, Makran, Seistan and Fars have brought to light painted pottery, implements of copper, bronze and stone for the most part polished, and bronze and terra cotta seals, dating as far back as 3500 to 3000 B. C. All these objects, though coming from sites widely separated from one another, show such a homogeneous character as to suggest that the peoples enjoying this civilisation were closely connected with one another, if not ethnically, at any rate culturally and commer-

\* The following address forms the major part of my article on the same subject contributed to the Vikram Bimillenary Volume, and submitted in 1944 to the Editorial Board. I am indebted to the Board for their kind permission to quote passages from the article *in extenso* before the publication of the above volume.



cially. The singularly uniform civilisation of the Indus valley as disclosed by the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa finds show the rich épanouissement of a civilisation similar to that of the earliest inhabitants of Susa, who have proved themselves master-potters by their delicate and richly decorated Susa I ware, and who were also conversant with metallurgic and textile arts, as can be judged from copper axes and copper mirrors, and from the impression of cloth, perhaps of linen, on a mirror, and who were familiar with polished stone implements, like axes, crushers, etc.

The painted pottery, mostly red and black ware, and sherds found at Mohenjo-Daro, resemble those found at Jamdet Nasr in Sumer, corresponding to southern Mesopotamia, and at Tepe Mousian in the Pushte-Kuh Mountains, and in the environs of Susa in Iran, by their pâte (clay), by the designs of their paintings and by their technique.

The seals are flat, sometimes button-shaped, with a lateral hole for suspension, and more or less round. Those found at Mohenjo-Daro are generally square-shaped, while those from Susa are not seldom theriomorphic, representing lion, bull, etc. A few samples of theriomorphic seals have also been found at Mohenjo-Daro. It has been generally admitted that cylindrical seals came into vogue with the influence of Semitic culture in Sumer, Elam, and the Indus valley. It must, however, be noted that cylinder-seals of the pre-Sargonic period have also been found at Susa and Mohenjo-Daro. Five seals of the characteristic *Indus* pattern have been discovered in different sites in Elam and Mesopotamia. They are of the pre-Sargonic period and are not later than the third millennium B. C. Among them, a bone-cylinder of Susa II period, of the so-called "bull and manger" type had been probably carved for an Indian settler.

Nearly all inscriptions found on Mohenjo-Daro seals are written in the so-called Proto-Indian script. They are generally short. This script, though peculiar to India, is more or less pictographic and has some affinity with other contemporaneous scripts of Western Asia and the Near East, with that of the Proto-Elamite tablets found at Susa and Kashan, and with that of the tablet from Kish of the same period. Mr. Pran Nath who

has busied himself with the Indus script, is of opinion that the Indus culture is of Aryan derivation and says "A critical examination of Brahui has disclosed to me that it has nothing to do with the Dravidian languages". Sir John Marshall considers, on the other hand, this Indus civilisation as revealed by the finds from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa to be of Dravidian origin. As to the language underlying these seal-inscriptions, Rev. Father Heras has declared it to be Proto-Dravidian.

In this connection mention must be made of an inscription written on a lime-stone boulder, 13 cm. x 21 cm., in an unknown language and characters. It was discovered at Susa in 1934. It was found in a layer dated between 3500 and 3000 B. C., in the big north-west trench opened by Mr. de Morgan on the Acropolis. Thus it is nearly contemporaneous with the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa inscriptions. Remarkable is the fact that this inscription from Susa is written in a metallic ink with a reed kalam, rather in a cursive style, although a few *Svastikas*, *Ankhs* and a familiar Proto-Elamite sign are found written separately. Judging from the final flourishes of some characters, we can say with some certainty that the inscription runs from right to left, some lines even from left to right, although it can never be maintained that it is boustrophedon like those on Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa seals.

The trade of the Indus valley in this far remote period, fourth millennium B. C., appears to have extended far and wide in all directions, as is proved by the use of foreign raw materials by the people inhabiting it. Among these raw materials, the following are worth noting as they are imported from Afghanistan, Baluchistan, or Iran: "*lead* from the silver mines of Afghanistan or Iran, *copper* from Baluchistan or Iran, *lapis lazuli* from Badakhshan in North Afghanistan, *turquoise* from Khorasan or Seistan, *jadeite* from the Pamirs, Eastern Turkistan or Tibet, probably over Afghanistan, *bitumen*, which was very much used in ancient times as mortar in constructions in Mesopotamia, Iran and the Indus valley, came from the Mari hills or Sanni in Baluchistan, but it might have also come by water from Hormuz and other islands in the Persian Gulf".

The pre-Aryan culture of the Indus valley resembles that of Susa II period of Elam and Mesopotamia and that of the prehistoric culture of Sumer. It is true that the imposing remains of brick-built houses with public baths and elaborate drainage system of the ancient pre-Aryan city discovered on the site of Mohenjo-Daro have nothing to rival in ancient Sumer and Elam. But the solidity of structures was essential in a country with high rain-falls as in India.

What concerns burial customs, complete and fractional burials, i. e. burial after previous desiccation, of the bones after the dead body has been destroyed either by birds or beasts of prey are recorded for Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, the latter forms rather the rule, whereas at Tepe Mousian in the Pushte-Kuh, where both forms of burial are noted, the fractional burial is rather exceptionally resorted to. Food and drink for the dead were placed in vessels in or near the funeral urn or sarcophagus or near the dead body.

The culture of the Indus valley is Proto-Dravidian and decidedly pre-Aryan. This is proved further by the religion of the Proto-Dravidians. We find therein the cult of the *Mother-Goddess*, and of *Śiva* and his consort *Śakti*. The cult of the Mother-Goddess was, in its origin, Asianic and non-Aryan. We find it in Elam, Sumer, Anatolia and Phoenicia. The images of this goddess which have been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro are strikingly similar to those from Susa, Ur and Kish. Moreover, we find therein *phallic and yoni cult* which seems to be typically Indian, i. e. Dravidian, although it is connected with the myth of the creative forces, common to Asianic peoples. *Tree-worship*, originally the worship of the tree of life, has also its parallel in Mesopotamia and Elam, as the famous bas-relief in brick with Elamite inscriptions of about the eleventh century B. C. shows. It depicts Enkidu, the man-bull, worshipping the sacred tree; he becomes in later Iranian myth *Gōpatshāh*. Again, the worship of theriomorphic gods is non-Aryan. We find it among the Hittites of Anatolia ( *Iasilikaya* ) and the Kassites of the Zagros range. There the gods are mounted on their animal-attributes; the latter are comparable to the *vāhanas* of the Indian deities. The theriomorphic gods of Mohenjo-Daro have horns of the

bison on their heads. These horns are a symbol of divinity in Mesopotamian iconography. It is to be noted that the roofs of the *gopurams* of Southern India - Dravidistan only - are decorated with bull's horns, reminiscent of the Mohenjo-Daro-Mesopotamian tradition. They are absolutely absent in Hindustan.

II. *Proto-historic times*.— The culture as gleaned from the Vedas, the sacred books of the Hindus is Aryan. It is similar to the culture of the early Avestan people, residing in Eastern Iran. The society was founded on the patriarchal system, in which the right of heritage was bestowed by the father on the son. It is well known that the modern Dravids of Southern India follow the matriarchal system, wherein the right of heritage goes not to the son, but to the daughter and her son from the mother. It was probably the system on which the society was based in the Indus valley in the proto-historic times, although we have no record about it in the finds from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. But we read that the kings of Sumer used to lay great stress on their maternal lineage, and that the matriarchal system was prevalent in Elam throughout its whole history. Nephews had succeeded their uncles on the throne in Madaktu and in Susa.

The coming of the Vedic Aryans to India must be placed decidedly later than the fourth millennium B. C. and after the disappearance of the Indus valley civilisation. Whether they are the cause of this disappearance, we cannot say definitely, but it is highly probable. The invasion of India by the Aryans must have taken the well-known routes of all later invasions, viz. Baluchistan on the west, and Afghanistan on the north-west, most probably the latter route.

The Aryans were a branch of the people speaking the hypothetical primitive language, called Indo-Germanic. The original habitat of this people was in the Carpathian regions, corresponding to modern Hungary, Austria and Bohemia. We have no historical record of the earliest movements of the Aryans who occupied the Iranian plateau and finally passed into Northern India. The cuneiform tablets written in the Akkadian language, discovered by Dr. Hugo Winckler at Boghaz-Köi in 1906-1907, mention a treaty of peace between Shubbiluliumma,

king of the Hittites, and Mattiwaza, king of the Mitannis, signed in about the first quarter of the fourteenth century B. C., in which the contracting parties take as witnesses several national deities, among whom Mitrasil, Arunasil, Indar and Nastyanna are mentioned. Again, the names of the ruling princes of the Mitannis occurring in these and in the contemporaneous Tell-el-Amarna tablets like Mattiwaza, Tusratta, and others are Aryan. They suggest that at least the ruling aristocracy of the Mitanni people was of the Aryan stock. Similar is also the case of the Kossaeans or the Kassites who ruled in Babylon from about 1746 to 1180 B. C. and who were subjected to princes of the Aryan descent, as their own names and those of their deities, Bagas, Suryas and Marytas show. These considerations have led Johannes Hertel and some other savants to place the composition of the Vedas and the Gāthās of Zarathushtra much later than the fourteenth century B. C. This can be considered as an *argumentum ex silencio*, as it might be presumed that we have in the Boghaz-Köi tablets the last historical mention of an Aryan tribe domiciled in Asia Minor and that long before 1400 B. C. earlier waves of the Aryan people might have passed over this country and penetrated much further to the east and even into Iran and India.

From what precedes it can be safely inferred that in the fourteenth century B. C. tribes of the Aryan stock held sway and exercised influence over Northern Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Media, in the two latter countries even upto the end of the twelfth century, B. C., and that they penetrated in later times further eastwards and northwards "mainly confining themselves to the territories south of the Oxus, but occasionally occupying lands between that river and the Jaxartes".

If we examine the traditions of the Iranians and the Indians concerning their immigrations into Iran and India, as they are preserved in the Avesta and the Rgveda, we get an idea of the continuous shifting of their habitats from an original home upto their final settlement in these countries. The Vandīdād (I. 3) speaks of Airyana Vaeja, the ancestral land of the Aryans, as the first land created by Ahura Mazda. It was thrice widened

by Yima, the counterpart of the Vedic Yama, owing to the increase in population. Finally, against the calamity of oncoming harsh winter, Yima organised a successful migration to the hospitable south. It is not possible to draw a definite conclusion from the R̥gveda as to the route by which the Vedic Indians entered India. They might have taken the route of the western passes of the Hindukush and proceeded then to the east through the Panjab. The Vandidād, ch. I, enumerates "sixteen good places created by Ahura Mazda, ranging between Airyana Vaeja (the Syr-Amu Daria Doab) in the north and Hapta Hindu or the Sapta Sindhu, the land of the seven (later five) rivers, the Panjab". But Dr. Dhalla has already warned us of the error in taking these places as successive stages of the Aryan migration.

Of all the peoples of the Indo-Germanic stock, the ancestors of the Iranians and the Indians lived longest and closest together in eastern Iran. They had, therefore, the closest social and cultural traditions. Both have founded their society on the patriarchal system. The position of women is in no way lower. Good and cultivated women are highly praised in the Avesta. According to the Gāthās, the people were divided into three classes, viz. *xvaetu*, *airyaman*, and *verezena*, corresponding to *āthrauan*, *rathaestār*, and *vāstryō fsluyant* of the later Avesta, whereas in the Vedic times the *brāhmaṇa*, *rājanya*, and *vaiśya* were considered the only representatives of the three divisions of the tribe. The fourth class *hutoxsh* is neither mentioned in the Yasna nor in the Vandidād. Similarly, the *śūdra* class has been introduced later in the Hindu social system. Both the Indians and Iranians were agriculturists; they led a settled life and were adverse to nomadic habits.

As regards the religion of the early Aryans, the Avesta has preserved some relics of the common worship and the common legends of the two sister peoples. Its religion was polytheistic, especially worship of the elements of nature and the natural phenomena, such as the aurora, and of the Sun, the Moon and the stars, over which a god or goddess presided. Another deity who enjoyed common worship was Soma, the god who presided over the plant and the juice extracted from it, the nectar of the gods. Mithra, Airyaman, Haoma (Soma), Verethaghna

( Vṛtrahan ), Vāyu and Uśas enjoyed common worship. Among those who propitiated Haoma ( Soma ), three personages are Indo-Iranian, viz. Vivahvant ( Vivasvat ), Āthwya ( Āptya ), and Thrita ( Trita ). After the religious schism among the Aryans, the Indian deities were, as it were dethroned and spoken of as demons. e. g. the Vedic gods, Indra, Sharva, and Nāsatyas. Similar phenomenon is also noticeable in the Vedic literature, Ahura ( Asura ), originally used in a good sense, becomes in later literature a demon. A reminiscence of this we have in *ahurāonghō* ( *asurasas* ) : " lords, deities ", corresponding to *devasas* ( *daeuvāonghō* ) " the shining ones ; gods ".

Various dates have been suggested by scholars for the Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Rgveda. Much useful information, can, however, be obtained from a careful study of the astronomical data which might be gathered from the Avesta and the Rgveda. In the Presidential Address delivered in the Iranian section of the XIIth Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Benaras in 1943, I have suggested that on archaeological grounds the date of the Gāthās of Zarathushtra can be tentatively placed as early as the fourteenth century B. C. and that of the latter Avesta perhaps not later than the beginning of the first millennium B. C., i. e. in the iron age. Sir John Marshall says " Literary evidence from the Vedas seem to indicate that iron was introduced in the north-west of India during the second millennium B. C. It was about the same time too that it came into general use in Mesopotamia, and it is probable enough that the knowledge not only of this metal but of copper also in a previous age was acquired from that region ". As regards Iran, we know from excavations made at Kashan, at Nehavend and in Luristan that iron weapons, like poniards, lance-heads and arrow-heads, were found in graves which could be dated as early as the fourteenth - thirteenth century B. C., whereas at Susa in Elam, iron made its first appearance still later in about the beginning of the first millennium B. C.

III. *Achaemenian period*.—\* Eduard Meyer says that since early times the dividing line between Iranian and Indian is

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\* In the IIIrd and IVth Sections of this address, I have given excerpts from Ch. XIV and Ch. XVII of the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, London 1922.

drawn by the Hindukush and the Soliman Mountains of the Indus district. The valley of the Kabul (Cophen) is already occupied by Indian tribes, especially the Gandarians and the Satagydae (AP. *Thatagu*) there resident were presumably of the Indian stock. Harakhvaiti (Skr. *Sarasvatī*), the region of Arachosia, mentioned in the Vandidād, ch. I, as the tenth best land was an Indian land. There is no doubt that the Indians and Iranians had come into close contact on these border lands. The Achaemenian inscriptions mention the tribe of the Pārsa, the Parsuas with whom the Assyrians had come into contact. They inhabited a district in the Zagros range south of Lake Urumia. They are perhaps mentioned as Parshavas in the Rgveda (X. 33. 2). Similarly, other Iranian tribes of the Parthians and the Bactrians are mentioned as Parthavas in Rgv. VI, 27. 8 and as Balhikas in the Atharva Veda, V. 22, 5, 7, 9. It seems that prior to the Achaemenian Empire, the Iranian influence was an important factor in modifying control over the northern part of India. Still, this influence had not extended beyond the limit of the Indus. It is generally accepted by Iranists that the bulk of the Avesta, at least in the form in which it is preserved is pre-Achaemenian. There are in it several references to India. India, especially Northern India, is mentioned as Hapta Hindu, the region of the seven rivers in Vandidād, I. 18. It is the same as Sapta Sindhavah of Rgv. VII. 24-27. Jackson quotes another passage, Yasht VIII. 32, where the Us-Hindva Mountain, literally "beyond or above India" is mentioned. Geldner takes it to be Hindu Kush. Again, Harakhvaiti (Arachosia), AP. *Hara(h)wati* was known, according to Isidor of Charax, in Parthian times, first century of the Christian era, as "White India". Apart from these references in the Avesta to the contact of Iran with India, Iran formed prior to the seventh century B. C. and for many centuries afterwards a bridge between India and Babylon for commerce between these countries which certainly passed through the Persian Gulf.

• Now, we know from unquestioned classical sources that the conquest of Cyrus the Great (558-528 B. C.), king of Anshan and Persis, brought the Achaemenian Empire more or less in contact with India. Again, Xenophon in Cyropaedia (I. 1. 4)



declares that Cyrus brought under his rule the Bactrians and Indians, and that he describes an embassy sent to Cyrus by an Indian king ( VI. 2. 1-11 ). It seems that during the short reign of Cambyses ( 528-521 B. C. ), the Achaemenians held the territories bordering on India, as Darius I ( 521-485 B. C. ) immediately on assuming sovereignty laid claim to them. The Indian realm formed the twentieth satrapy. It was the richest province of his Asiatic possessions, and paid an immense tribute. Herodotus ( IV. 44 ) mentions a naval expedition under Scylax the Carian to explore the Indus from its upper course down to the sea. This shows that Darius held sway over the whole of the Indian region. It must be noted that the inscription of Bahistān, dated between 520 and 518 B. C., do not mention India. It is mentioned as *Hindu* in the Persepolis inscription, dated between 518 and 515 B. C., and then in the tomb-inscription of Naqshe-Rustam, dated 515 B. C. The new inscription on gold and silver plates from Hamadan and Persepolis, discovered in 1925 and 1936 respectively, gives the limits of the empire of Darius in these words: " From the Sakas who are living beyond Sogdia upto Kusha ( Ethiopia ), from India upto Lydia ". The trans-Sogdian Sakas were perhaps the Saka Tigra -khauda, i. e. the Sakas wearing pointed helmets. The date of this inscription cannot be earlier than 515 B. C., when the Naqshe-Rustam inscription was engraved. India is mentioned as one of the limits of the Achaemenian Empire in the apocryphal Greek version of the Book of Esdra, where the phrase " from India even upto Ethiopia " occurs instead of " from India upto Lydia " of the new inscription of Hamadan and Persepolis. It seems that the Indian satrapy was held by the Achaemenids even upto the collapse of the empire, as Xerxes employed against the Greeks Indian contingents of infantry and cavalry, and as Darius III Codomanus could summon Indian troops at Arbela in 330 B. C. Herodotus says that the Indians were clad in cotton garments and armed with the bows of cane tipped with iron, and that they were commanded by Pharnazathres, son of Artapates. The cavalry had the same weapons, but they brought riding horses and chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.

As regards commercial relation between Iran and India during the Achaemenian period, we have very few records. The finds of gold Darics in India are rare, while those of silver shekels with Iranian countermarks are frequent. The most important document for cultural and commercial relations of Iran of the time of Darius I with the provinces of his vast empire is the so-called charter of the building of his palace in Susa, found in several fragmentary copies in the three principal languages of the empire, inscribed on clay-tablets and stone-slabs. The part played by the subject-races of the empire and the contributions in men and materials offered by them to the building of his palace has been described at length in this inscription. It says, among others, " mosaic elements ( of the palace ) were executed with precious stones, like lapis lazuli and serpentine of Sogdia and the haematite of Chorasmia and with ivory of Ethiopia and India and Arachosia ". This palace was built approximately in 517/516 B. C.

Dr. Spooner who had carried out excavations at Pataliputra in ancient Magadha, the capital of the Maurya Empire, had launched a novel but interesting theory about " a Zoroastrian period of Indian History " in *JRAS*, 1915. The late Mr. S. K. Hodivala has refuted the arguments of Dr. Spooner advanced in support of this theory in *Parsis of Ancient India*, Bombay 1920, with references from the ancient Indian literature and history. Mr. Hodivala has expressed the indebtedness to Dr. Spooner on behalf of the Zoroastrians for bringing into prominence the following facts: " a few centuries before Christ, the Persians fought in India for their Maurya masters, that their masses lived as subject races in Northern India long before the Arab conquest of Iran, that their leaders were chiefs and even petty rājas, and that their masons had probably a hand in the creation of the Maurya palaces after the style of the Persepolitan halls ". There is no doubt that the monuments which can be assigned to the Maurya epoch ( 321-184 B. C. ) and to the age succeeding it with relative certainty are few. Among them the notable ones are " a series of isolated columns erected by Aśoka at various spots in Northern India, the remains of a pillared hall at Patna, and a group of rock-cut shrines in the Barabar Hills in Behar." In

the construction of these monuments the Achaemenian influence is quite evident. The columns called *lats* are unfluted shafts, 40 to 50 feet high with bell-shaped capitals, surmounted by an abacus with a crowning figure in the round, mostly a lion, sometimes groups of lions back to back. They have that brilliant polish, so characteristic of the Achaemenian architecture. The campaniform capitals are a copy of similar bases of columns. There is no doubt that the pillared hall is a replica of those halls of Persepolis and Susa, and perhaps the palace of which it formed a part must have been built on the Persepolitan model. The rock-cut shrines must have been inspired by the rock-cut tombs of Naqshe-Rustam.

IV. *Seleucia, Graeco-Bactrian, Saka and Parthian periods.*--The battle of Gaugamela near Arbela in 331 B. C. sealed the fate of Darius Codomanus and also that of the Achaemenian Empire. Alexander the Great after subduing the Iranian plateau and the eastern dependencies of Iran invaded the valley of the Indus and advanced as far as the Hyphasis ( Beas ). From here he had to retreat to Iran in 326 B. C. owing to troubles with his army. Before his death in 323 B.C., he had subdued many Indian princes, like the Raja of Takshashila ( Taxila ) and Porus ( Paurava ). In the army of Alexander which poured into the Indus valley, there were among Macedonians, Thracians and Greeks, also men of many nations, the Phoenicians, the Egyptians, and even the Iranians. The latter served as cavalrymen.

It seems that at the time of his invasion of India in 305 B. C., Seleucus Nicator, to whose lot Babylon and the eastern countries had fallen, had to come to terms with Chandragupta Maurya ( Sandrocottos of the Greeks ), the powerful ruler of Pataliputra who held the whole of Northern India, because the satraps who were in charge of the Indian provinces had found their position untenable. Megasthenes was stationed as envoy of Seleucus at Pataliputra. His work on India has enriched our knowledge of Mauryan India. Commerce between the two empires thrived as can be judged from coins found in Central Asia. The route along which Indian goods travelled to Europe was by way of the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, in which the Oxus ( Amu Daria ) formed an important link ( Strabo, XI. 509 ).

After the death of Asoka in about 236 B. C., the Maurya Empire and its power seem to have declined speedily. Taking advantage of this situation, Antiochus III led an expedition into India. He crossed the Hindukush and marched down the Kabul valley, where he subdued an Indian prince named Subhagazena (Sophagasenoi). Before this event, in the reign of Antiochus II, Bactria had proclaimed itself independent under Diodotus, and in 246 B. C. the Parthians under Arsaces had thrown off the Seleucid yoke. The Bactrian conquest of India began in the reign of Euthydemus early in the second century B. C. and was carried out by Demetrius and other princes of his family, especially Apollodotus I and Menander, who is called Milinda in the Pāli literature. Eucratides wrested from the house of Euthydemus the Kabul valley and a portion of the territory of north-west India. But he was deprived of his conquest by Mithridates I of Parthia before 162 B. C. With his son and successor Heliocles, the Greek power in Bactria was brought to an end by the Saka invasion. The princes of the house of Eucratides continued to rule in Taxila and the upper Kabul valley upto about 25 B. C. It was at the end of the reign Hermaios that the latter valley was conquered by Pahlava (Parthian) king Spalirises, the brother of Vonones..

The Sakas or Scythians who invaded the Panjab had their earlier settlements in the Indus valley. In the time of Mithridates II (123-88 B. C.), the Parthian suzerainty over Seistan and Kandahar, where the Scythian vassals held sway, was confirmed. According to E. J. Rapson, "In these subordinate governments, the Parthians and the Scythians were so closely associated that it is not possible to distinguish between them; the same family includes both Parthian and Scythian names. It is therefore little more than a convenient nomenclature which labels the princes of the family of Maues, who invaded the Lower Indus valley as Sakas, and those of the family of Vonones who ruled over Drangiana (Seistan) and Arachosia (Kandahar) as Pahlavas. The relation between Maues and Vonones is uncertain, but it is clear that their families were associated in a later generation" (*Cambridge History of India*, p. 568). From coin-evidence it seems that after the reign of Mithridates II these vassal-states

show "the association not between Parthia and Eastern Iran, but between Iran and North-West India. In fact, all throughout the period of Saka and Pahlava rule (75 B. C. to 50 A. D.) the countries to the west and east of the Indus were governed by members of the same royal house. There were normally three contemporary rulers of royal rank - a King of Kings associated with some junior member of his family in Iran, and a King of Kings in India; and the subordinate ruler in Iran usually became in due course King of Kings in India" (*ibid.* p. 568-569).

It is interesting to note that Azes I has been hypothetically considered by Rapson as the actual founder of the Vikrama era and that Gondophares, the Parthian viceroy of Arachosia and suzerain of India was the protector of St. Thomas.

In the middle of the first century A. D., when Gondophares and his son Pakores were reigning in Arachosia, the Kushans, a tribe of the Yü-Chi, who had settled in Bactria for about a hundred years, under their leader Kujala Kadphises invaded the Kabul valley and Arachosia. But it seems that the Pahlava princes continued to rule upto the end of the first century A. D. in the country of the Lower Indus as vassals of the Kushans. "It was from this country, too, and under the leadership of Saka and Pahlava satraps that the Kushan power was extended to Western India; and in this manner were laid the foundations of the kingdom of the Kshatrapas of Surashtra and Malwa, the "Western Kshatrapas" who are known in the later Indian literature and inscriptions as Sakas." This kingdom lasted from about the beginning of the second century to the end of the fourth, when it was conquered by the Guptas. The dates which appear on the coins and inscriptions of its princes are all in the era which starts from the beginning of Kanishka's reign in 78 A. D. ... In consequence of its long use by the Saka princes of Western India that the era became generally known as the Shaka era". (*Cambridge History of India*, p. 585).

Another branch of the Parthians or Pahlavas worked their way gradually from the north down to Malbar and the Coromandal coast. They were first heard of in the second century A. D. as the ruling race of the Pallavas. It seems from the

names of their kings, the first of whom was Shivaskandavarman, about 150 A. D., that they had adopted the Hindu faith, especially Shaivism, long before their rise to power. Their capital was Kanchi, modern Conjeeveram near Madras. Their power was spread as far as the Kitsna. Towards the end of the tenth century A. D. the power of the Pallavas was destroyed by the Chola king Rājarāja the Great ( *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIth ed., vol. XIV, p. 400 ).

It was with the invasion of Alexandar and the subsequent Seleucid domination that Hellenism penetrated into Iran. There were in Parthia, Bactria and Arachosia, Greek cities and colonies, founded by Alexander, Antiochus, and the Bactrian kings Euthydemus and Eukratides, which exercised their cultural influence over indigenous populations. The art which developed there was either purely Hellenic or often somewhat influenced by the native art. In the latter case, it was called Hellenistic. It was from Bactria that Hellenism penetrated into India, as we see it expressed in the live forms of the Sarnath capital. The Hellenic influence is rather pronounced on early Indian coins. The earliest coins, current during the Maurya period, were commonly called punch-marked. They are more or less irregular in shape with one or more symbols indiscriminately stamped on their surface. But coins of the Athenian owl-type and those specially struck for circulation in North-West India by Seleucus I and Antiochus I must have been current. The coin of Sophites ( Subhūti ) who was ruling the Panjab at the close of the fourth century B. C. is purely Greek in style and has been copied from a coin of Seleucus Nicator. The Indian native states which rose to power in the Gangetic valley after the fall of the Maurya Empire had struck coins of the square or the Indian and round or the Greek type. In motifs of the obverse and the reverse also the Indian and Greek influences are visible. The coins of the Greek kings of Bactria, which are contemporaneous with the early Parthian coinage are really artistic. From the time of Demetrius, the coins of Bactria became bilingual, the legends being in Greek and Pali, the latter in the Kharoshti script. Similar is the case of the coins of the Saka and Pahlava princes of the Panjab. The decadence in art, certainly due to Indian

influence, is visible therein. The square coins of the Bactrian and Pahlava rulers are imitations of the Indian coinage.

Arsacid coins, especially of copper, are important for the study of the religion of the Parthians. That they practised eclecticism in religion is well known. They were Zoroastrians, although not so staunch as the Sassanians. They identified Zoroastrian deities with the Greek ones, e. g. Mithra the Sun-god with Apollo, and figured them on their coins as reverse-motifs. The Pahlava kings, who were kinsmen of the Arsacids, must have also practised the same type of eclecticism. The Saka or Indo-Scythian rulers, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva, who were Buddhists, had also venerated deities of other religions or perhaps were tolerant towards them, as we find on their coins representations of Zoroastrian deities, like Mithra, Māh, Tishtrya (Tīr) and Shahrevar, of Greek ones like Helios, Selene and Serapis, and even of Buddha, Skanda Kumāra and Vishākha.

The so-called Gandhara school of art, which was the result of the fusion of the Hellenic and Indian art, sprang up during the supremacy of the Scytho-Parthian period. The majority of the sculptures and terra cottas, mostly representing Buddha, are, however, of the Kushāna period. Excavations of the French Archaeological Mission of Afghanistan carried out by Mr. A. Foucher and Mr. J. Hackin, have brought to light many interesting pieces in stone and terra cotta of the Gandhara art. The terra cotta figurines and plaquettes found at Susa in the strata pertaining to the Parthian and early Sassanian periods remind us of certain specimens discovered at Taxila. (*Cambridge History of India*, pl. XXXI, fig. 84 and pl. XXXII, fig. 86). It is interesting to note that an anthropoid sarcophagus of red terra cotta of the Madras Museum, whose age is marked as uncertain, must have appertained to the early Pallava period, perhaps to a period before they adopted Hinduism. Similar sarcophagi have been discovered at Susa in the Parthian and early Sassanian strata of the ruins of this ancient city.

Another important fact which emerges from the study of the history of Ancient India of the centuries following the invasion of Alexander is that the invaders of India, like the Greeks, the

Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Pallavas, who ruled for centuries in India, were finally conquered by the all absorbing and assimilating power of Hinduism, and that although they guarded to a certain extent their original identity, the Indian legislators like Manu were at a loss to explain their castes. Sometimes they are said to have belonged to the degraded Kṣatriyas (*Manusmṛti*, X. 43, 44 ; cf. S. K. Hodivala, *Parsis of Ancient India*, p. 30 ).

V. *Sassanian period*.— After gaining the decisive victory over Artabanus V of Parthia and after his death in 224 A. D., Ardashir V of Persis and I of the Sassanian dynasty ( 226-241 A. D. ) marched against Seistan. According to Tabarī, the Kushānshāh and the kings of Turān and Makurān sent envoys to declare their allegiance to Ardashir. About these events Prof. Herzfeld writes as follows : “ From the Indian point of view, we find that the very year of Ardashir’s rise, saw the decay, if not the collapse of the Kushan and Andhra powers, and it is reasonable to bring these changes in India into connection with these happenings in Iran at the same epoch ”. ( *Paikuli. Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire*. Berlin 1924, p. 39 ). The above statement of Tabarī, based on tradition, has been supported by a silver drachm of Peroz, son of Ardashir, with the legend *Pērōz vazurk kushānshāh*, i. e. “ Pērōz, the great king of the Kushāns ”. The Paikuli inscription mentions rulers of a large number of provinces and feudal princes, like the Saka Kshatrapas from remote parts of India, among whom was the prince of Avanti, who were formerly retainers of Varharan III in his struggle against Narse, but who after the latter’s victory come to pay him homage as king of kings. Another inscription discovered at Naqshe-Rustam, on the east wall of the monument called Kaabe-Zardusht, by Dr. Erich Schmidt in 1936, dated in the reign of Shahpur I, seems to be of political importance. It mentions among other feudatory princes Narse Sakanshah, Ardashir Malawishah, perhaps king of Malwa. “ In the time of Varharan II ( in 284 A. D. ) the Sassanian Empire actually comprised among other possessions in the east, the lands at the middle course of the Indus and its mouths, Kacoh, Kathiawad, Malwa and the adjoining hinterlands



of these countries. The only exception was the Kabul valley and the Panjab which continued to remain in the possession of the later Kushans". ( *Paikuli*, pp. 37-38 and 43 ).

There must have been during the whole of Sassanian period close commercial and cultural relations between Iran and India, especially with the rulers of western India. According to Tabari and Mas'udi, Varharan V ( 420-438 A. D. ), famous as Behram Gor, went incognito to the court of the King of Kanoj. He won by his bravery the affections of the king who gave him his daughter in marriage, and ceded to him Makran and Sind. On his way back to Iran, he came upon " Iranian traders who were bold in travelling by land and by sea ", as Firdausi relates. It is also related that Behram Gor was very fond of music, and that he ordered a whole tribe of musicians from India. They are called Zuts ( Jats ) by Hamza and Lurs by Firdausi. These friendly relations seem to have been maintained by succeeding rulers of Iran. We read in the Pahlavi treatise on the game of chess that it was sent by an Indian king for its interpretation to the court of Chosroes I Anāshīravōn. Buzorgmihr, minister of Chosroes explained it from the standpoint of military strategy and sent as a counter-problem the game of trick-track, called in Pahlavi *Nēv-Ardashīr* and in Persian *Nardashīr* or *Nard* to the Indian court, where nobody could solve its inner meaning and the Indian king had to pay tribute to Chosroes in accordance with a previous condition. It was also in the reign of Chosroes Anāshīravōn that the physician Barzōe was sent to India for obtaining a copy of the *Panchatantra*, which he got translated into Pahlavi ( *Hodivala*, *ibid.* p. 23 ). It was also in India that the origin of the *Arabian Nights* is to be sought. Tabari mentions that Chosroes II ( 590-627 A. D. ) received an embassy of Pulikesin II in 625 A. D. and a return embassy was sent from Iran which was received with due honour at the Indian court. The latter event is supposed to have formed the subject of an Ajanta fresco. As regards art, the so-called *Gadhaiya* coins, so numerous in Kathiawar and Malwa, are a debased imitation of the coins of the Hephthalites or the White Huns. The latter had come under the influence of the Sassanians as early as in the fifth century A. D., as can be judged from their coins. Again, the

Sassanian influence on Indian art, especially on that of north-west India and the Kabul valley has been noticed by Mr. A. Foucher in some sculptures and fresques, pertaining to Buddhist caves and monasteries at Bamian, north-west of Kabul. The Sassanians had come, like their predecessors the Parthians, under the influence of the Hellenistic art, as is proved by archaeological finds, made in Iran and especially in the ruins of Susa, and by the treatment of the motifs of a great number of Sassanian seals. The traces of Hellenistic art are evident on ancient intaglios found in North-West India. Some of them are surely works of Greek artists. A hand in the *vitarkamudrā*, the familiar gestures of Buddha preaching and a female figure standing in a garlanded doorway are oft repeated motifs on Sassanian seals. They are certainly borrowed from Indian art.

VI. *Post-Sassanian period.*— After the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, first the Umayyad and then the 'Abbāsid Khalifs ruled over Iran from Damascus and Bagdad. Muḥammad ibn Qāsim conquered Khorasan in 30 A. H., and later Sind, but the Arabs were driven out from this province in 750 A. D. After a lapse of one hundred and fifty years, India suffered from another invasion. Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazni, who had subdued Khorasan and a great part of Afghanistan, invaded the Panjab immediately on his accession to the throne in 997 A. D. Subsequent Indian history upto the invasion of the Moghuls under Babar in 1525 A. D. is well known. We may simply mention that the Muhammadan rulers of the Panjab and the Sultans of Delhi, the Turks and the Afghans had come under strong influence of Iranian culture, which they spread by their conquests in India from the Panjab to the valley of the Ganges, and from Gujarat to the Deccan. Persian language became the court-language, particularly during the Moghul period. It was also responsible for the rise of Urdū, literally the jargon spoken by the soldiers in a camp. Persian was cultivated, and Persian literature was patronised by Muhammadan rulers of India. What concerns art, Moslem architecture and miniature paintings of India also show the fusion of Iranian and Indian artistic traditions. That there was political, cultural and commercial intercourse between Iran and India during the whole of the

Muhammadian period is certain, especially during the Moghul period. The friendly relations of Humāyūn and Akbar with the Šafavid rulers of Iran and the exchange of their embassies are well known.

Ever since the Moslem invasion of India, Islam has spread itself among the Hindus, sometimes forcibly, at others peacefully. And with it, the Islamic culture also had penetrated into the country. In its origin, this culture was mainly Iranian, as the Arab conquerors of the Sassanian Empire had in their own culture hardly any attractive features worth imitating for the refined Iranians. They were the Iranian converts to Islam who had been the bulwarks of the so-called Arab civilisation of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods.

It is interesting to note that about two hundred years ago, the Sikhs and the Panjabi Hindus, who were perhaps *Agnihotrits* or worshippers of fire, had erected a pavillion for the Fire called *Shrī Jvālājī* at Baku, at that time included in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, and built a serai with rooms for pilgrims, as we learn from sixteen inscriptions found above the lintels of the doors of the serai.

The Parsis of India are the exponents of the ancient Iranian culture. Civilisation and culture of a people is always influenced by its religion. And it is the Zoroastrian religion to which the Parsis have remained faithful for thirteen centuries that have moulded the admittedly high civilisation and culture of the Parsis, and have made them conspicuous among the teeming millions of the Indian population. It has been contended that the present-day Parsis are the descendants not of the *only* Zoroastrian immigrants from Iran who landed at Sanjan, but also of other earlier immigrants or even of the Sassanian settlers of the Panjab and Sind, who are well-nigh forgotten by history and tradition. Whatever might be the case, this much is certain that the Parsis had spread themselves in Gujarat and other centres of India from their original colony of Sanjan, as we shall see presently. The earlier Sassanian settlers or immigrants have most probably been absorbed, like the Pahlavas and the Pallavas before them, by all powerful Hinduism.

After the downfall of the Sassanian Empire in 641 A. D., large bodies of Zoroastrians, men, women and children, left their hearths and homes in order to preserve their ancestral Zoroastrian faith rather than accept Islam, the religion of the conquering Arabs. They took either the south-westerly course towards the sea-coast or sought refuge in the inaccessible mountainous region of Khorasan. That they could guard their independence in Tabaristān, the region which the Arab geographers called Mazandaran, for one hundred and fifty years, from June 651, when Yazdagard III, the last Sassanian sovereign was murdered, upto the end of the eighth century A. D., has been proved by the coins of the Ispāhbads of Tabaristān, who were princes of the royal Sassanian house, and from the anonymous coins struck by the Zoroastrians who revolted against the Arabs.

The *Kiṣṣeh-Sanjān*, composed in Persian verses by a Parsi priest of Navsari, called Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana, in 1599 A. D., relates that a large body of Persians (Zoroastrians) who had settled in Kohistan had left their homes in the latter half of the seventh century for the port of Hormuz on the mainland of the Persian Gulf. Here they stayed for a couple of decades, but they had to leave Iran for the preservation of their faith. They set sail with their women and children and made for the coast of India. They reached at last the island of Div on the south coast of Kathiawar. After a sojourn of nineteen years there, they again took to ship for some unknown reason, and sailed for the coast of Gujarat, where they landed near the site of modern Sanjan in North Konkan. A Hindu king named Jādī Rānā was ruling there. He gave the emigrants the permission to stay in his realm and choose a suitable site for their colony. Five years later, he allowed them to build a fire-temple, Ātash-Behrām, for which he granted them land, and to enthrone therein the sacred fire with due ceremonies and rituals. The emigrants, who called themselves Parsis, i. e. "inhabitants of Pars", named this sacred fire *Īrānshāh* in memory of their ancient country and as symbol of the lost empire. It should be observed that after some generations, several bands of Parsis from this original Sanjan colony had migrated to Navsari, Surat, Variav, Broach, Ankleswar, Cambay and other places in Gujarat. The *Kiṣṣeh* relates there-

after the perigrinations of the Irānshāh. In the reign of Sultan-Mahmūd Begarā, in about 1492, his general Alaf Khan invaded the territory of Sanjan. At the request of the Hindu Raja, the Parsi colonists put at his disposal 1400 horsemen under the leadership Ardashir, who forced Alaf Khan to retreat. The latter returned to Sanjan with reinforcements. Overpowered by odds, Ardashir, though covered with wounds, fell on the battlefield fighting for the Raja. The latter was also killed. The Parsis suffered at Sanjan heavy losses. Then the Muhammadans sacked Sanjan. The Parsis were obliged to seek safety first in the neighbouring hills of Bahrot, where they transferred the Sacred Fire, and afterwards in the forests of Bansda. From there the Iranshah was removed to Navsari in about 1515 A. D. at the request of a prominent and respected member of the whole Parsi community, called Changa Asha. The removal of the Irānshāh to Bulsar and finally to Udvada in 1742 A. D. is, of course, not mentioned in the *Kiṣṣeh*. It is further related therein that the Mobad who was the leader of the Parsi emigrants explained to the Raja the principles of the Zoroastrian faith, and said "Do not be heavy-hearted on our account, for never shall any evil (deed) proceed from us in this land. We shall be the friends of all Hindustan and everywhere scatter the heads of thy foe" (cf. S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, Bombay 1920, p. 103).

Attempts have been made by some students of the Parsi history to belittle the value of the *Kiṣṣeh-Sanjān* as a document of the early history of the Parsis and to mark it as absurd. But it is certain that the *Kiṣṣeh* is based on a genuine tradition, as genuine as the traditions howsoever dimly preserved in the Hindu *Purāṇas*. The date of the landing of the Parsis at Sanjan is given as the second day of the fourth month A. Y. 85, which year corresponds to 716 A. D. This date seems to be plausible from the traditional standpoint, although it does not tally with the ninth day of the bright half of Śrāvana Samvat 772, as given in a marginal note in a Zoroastrian manuscript. Dr. M. B. Davar fixes this date as 772 of the Shaka era, corresponding to A. Y. 219 and to 850 A. D. (*Parsi Avaz*, 14th March 1948, p. 9). The date of the consecration of the Irānshāh is thus 721 A. D. As to Jādī Rana, who is also called *Rāi-Rāyān*, he was most probably Vijayāditya (696-733 A. D. of the line of

the Western Chalukyas, as Mr. S. K. Hodivala has pointed out ( *Parsis of Ancient India*, Bombay 1920, p. 37 : for the discussion of the *Kisseh-Sanjan*, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 30-50 ).

The Parsis commemorate every year on the 25th day of the first month of the Zoroastrian calendar the anniversary of those gallant men and women who fell victims of the treacherous attack of a Rajput chief of Ratanpur at Variav, situated at some distance from Surat, towards the close of the eleventh century. The cause of the attack seems to have been the refusal of the Parsis to pay excessive tribute to the chief.

Only an allusion may be made to a synopsis of the history of the Parsis of seven hundred years, from 850 to 1478 A. D., given by Mr. Hodivala in *Parsis of Ancient India*, pp. 52-56. The date 1478 A. D. is the date of the earliest known *Riwāyat* brought from Iran by Nariman Hoshang. The *Riwāyats* are a collection of questions on Zoroastrian religion and religious customs and practices asked by the Parsis of India to their correligionists in Iran through their emissaries and the answers brought by them. The date of the last *Riwāyat* is 1773 A. D. Thus there was a vivid intercourse between the Parsis and the Zoroastrians of Iran for full three centuries. It was interrupted by the political events which took place in Iran during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1853 it was revived through the favour of Nasiruddin Shah Qajar. Mr. Maneckji Limji Hataria was sent in that year as agent of the Parsis to Teheran. With the advent of the Pahlavi dynasty to power under the late Reza Shah, the Parsis have been taking keen interest not only in the welfare of their correligionists in Iran, but also in the commercial, economic and cultural relations with Iran.

It is reported that among the divines of different religions with whom Akbar ( 1542-1605 A. D. ) conferred for the establishment of his *Dīn-i-Alāhī*, there was one Meherji Rana, a Parsi priest of Navsari. He made good impression on the Emperor by his religious knowledge and was awarded a jagir of three hundred *vinḡhāns* in Navsari. The *Dīn-i-Alāhī* was, as is well known, greatly influenced by Zoroastrianism. A Parsi folk-song even relates that Akbar had put on the *Sudrah* and the *Kūsti*, the sacred shirt and the sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians.

The Iran League which was founded in Bombay in the early twenties of this century has been the means of liaison between the Parsis of India and the Iranian intellectuals. The schools for boys and girls and dispensaries with expert medical aid, which have been opened in Yazd and other cities of Iran for Zoroastrians by the Parsis and Iranis of Bombay, have been accessible also to all Iranians, Muhammadans, Jews and Zoroastrians alike.

What the small community of the Parsis, a little more than a lac strong, have done for their adopted country India, which has become to them really their own mother-country, is known the world over. That they have and still cultivate the affection for their ancient father-land Iran is quite natural. In no way restricted by their religion, they have adopted all that was good in both oriental and occidental cultures. They are the pioneers for male and female education in India. A man like the first Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai has opened primary and secondary schools for boys and girls in nearly all towns and villages inhabited by the Parsis. Other Parsis have followed his lead and have opened schools for all communities, in some cases even with students' hostels. Zoroastrianism lays great stress on health and hygiene. Their contribution towards this end in a town like Bombay is not insignificant. Charity is the by-word of their religion. It is not restricted to the Parsi community alone, but it is extended to all communities; it is catholic or universal. This is proved by munificent donations from Tata and Wadia Trusts sent to help those struck by natural catastrophes all the world over. Charitable institutions, like schools, hospitals, sanatoriums and dharmashalas, have been opened in nearly every Parsi centre. Many hospitals are open also to other communities. The Parsis have been pioneers in foreign trade and commerce and in industries. The name of Sir Jamshedji Tata will be joined for ever with the Bangalore Research Institute, with the iron industry of Jamshedpur, and with the hydro-electric power-station in the Ghats. Many Indian scientists owe their rise to fame to the Bangalore Research Institute, and many others have been given splendid opportunities to do research-work in the Tata concerns. The Parsis are an advanced community, and their leaders have given a lead

in social reforms to other communities. The Gnyan Prasarak Mandali of Bombay, whose inspirers were Parsi educationists and social reformers, has contributed not a little to the irradication of superstitions and towards the spread of universal knowledge. The names of Dr. Dadabhai Navroji, Sir Phirozshah Mehta and Sir Dinshah Vaccha will remain for ever in the field of Indian politics. It is they who among others have inspired into the Indians the idea of the fight for national freedom. We have mentioned the above facts in brief not for the sake of showering undue praises on the Parsi community, but only in order to bring to the notice of sister-communities the share, howsoever little, that we have given to Mother-India towards the advancement of the lot of our co-nationals. And thereby we have tried our best to fulfil the promise given by the Mohad to Jadi Rana to remain the friends of India. Whatever a few misguided Parsis would say, the thinking majority of the Parsis say with one voice: We are Indians first, Parsis afterwards. Our relations, political and cultural, with India are to be looked upon as the relations of a community, Iranian by origin and religion, but by heart and aspirations Indian. Our more than a millennium old exclusivity from other Indian communities has enabled us to keep intact our religion and our communal entity. Otherwise, we would certainly have shared the lot of the Iranian Pahlavas and Pallavas of old.

The Parsis have contributed their share also in the field of Persian and Gujarati literatures. To Gujarati which is their mother-tongue, they have given a certain flexibility by the happy mixture of common Persian words. Many an Indian architect, painter and sculptor owes perhaps his initiation in art to the Sir Jamshedji School of Arts of Bombay. We are unable to say anything definite about the contribution of the Parsis to fine arts. But we may casually remark that the fountain in the Bazar Gate Street in Bombay, which has been erected by the late Mr. Bamanji Wadia, is a massive stone structure in the pure Persipolitan style.



## GERMS OF THE THEORY OF *DHṬṬṆI* \*

BY

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

The theory of *Dhṛṇi* was expounded as the most significant principle in literary criticism by the new school of critics headed by Ānandavardhana. No less a writer than the great Abhinavagupta Ācārya wrote an elaborate and authoritative commentary on the *Dhṛṇyāloka*, wherein he has explained all the implications involved in the theory with the aid of copious illustrations drawn from the whole range of Sanskrit literature and criticism. The masterly treatment of the subject by Ānandavardhana, combined with the authoritative interpretation of it by Abhinavagupta was able to overcome all opposition to the theory by rival schools and elicit universal admiration and acceptance of it by later theorists.

But at the very outset we are faced with the question whether the *Dhṛṇi*-theory is entirely original and propounded for the first time in the *Dhṛṇyāloka*. The Indian mind is instinctively averse to new-fangled notions and a most marked tendency in Indian philosophical writings is, even when the writer holds an opinion different from that of the recognised authority, to reinterpret the current theory in a new light rather than to enunciate an original theory. Far from the craze for originality, we find in Indian thinkers an anxiety to keep their personality in the background as far as possible. Their reverence for authority was almost religious and their idea was not to be original but to be faithful to older texts. This should not be understood to mean that the atmosphere was such as to preclude all efforts at bold and independent thinking. Even in religious matters, there was freedom for holding an independent outlook; but originality merely for the sake of being original was never encouraged. Even great writers like Śaṅkarācārya and

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Vācaspatimiśra chose to be commentators rather than original authors.

Such being the case, one need not be surprised by the statement “काव्यस्यास्मा ध्वनिरिति दुर्धैर्यस्माम्नातपूर्वः” in the very first *Kārikā* of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Instead of claiming for himself any credit for having laid down an original theory, the author categorically asserts that the idea of *Dhvani* as constituting the soul of poetry is an ancient one and that it was so designated by learned men. Whether there is any historical truth in this assertion deserves to be examined at some length.

From the total absence of any reference to *Dhvani* in all the works on Poetics from Bharata down to Rudraṭa, one will be led to think at first sight that the remark of Ānandavardhana is to be explained as being occasioned by his zeal to disclaim all individual responsibility for the new view proposed and that it is purposefully left vague, no writer in particular being mentioned as the originator of the new doctrine. Though to some extent this may be true, closer examination will reveal that there may be a grain of truth also in the statement of the *Kārikā*.

What exactly is the meaning of *Samāmnūtapūrvah*? If we take it to mean “clearly stated in earlier books”, the statement would of course be inaccurate since no such book of an earlier author exists. There is no reason to think that such books might have been lost, for there is not a single reference to them in the whole range of Sanskrit criticism. The same difficulty had to be faced by Abhinavagupta also, and it is interesting to note how he gets over it. This is done by taking ‘*Samāmnūtapūrvah*’ to mean “orally handed down in learned circles with an unbroken tradition, though unrecorded in books”.<sup>1</sup>

The plural number in the word ‘*budhaiḥ*’ is also taken to be significant. The theory does not claim acceptance simply because a stray critic affirmed it; on the other hand a number of learned critics were in agreement regarding its importance in literature, and it is this consensus of opinion prevailing amongst a famous circle of cultured critics which is taken as sufficient to

prove its validity. The charge of incompleteness or incorrectness can perhaps be levelled against an individual critic's views but not against the views of a whole class of cultured critics.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the special significance of the *upasarga* 'sam' in 'samāmnūtapūrvah' is also to be taken into account. 'Sam' may be paraphrased as "samyak", meaning 'well', 'with great interest'. Surely, scholars of repute would not take so much interest in teaching a doctrine if it were incredible.<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing it would appear that the theory of *Dhvani* was very much in vogue in a famous circle of cultured critics, and though it was never committed to writing, it was being traditionally handed down as a valuable treasure from generation to generation. In other words, the theory of *Dhvani* was being looked upon as a precious inheritance from the past rather than as a glorious achievement of the present.

Who, then, were these learned critics of the past? We can gather that they were well versed in the principles of literary appreciation by the epithet "*Kāvya-tattva-vidbhūḥ*" bestowed on them by Ānandavardhana himself in the *Vṛtti*.<sup>3</sup> We read again that the *Dhvani*-doctrine was absolutely unrecognised by the ancient writers on Poetics.<sup>4</sup> At first sight it will appear to be in flat contradiction with the earlier remark viz., "*Kāvyaśyātma dhvanirīti budhaiḥ yaḥ samāmnūtapūrvah*". But the contradiction disappears when we note that the expression '*kāvya-lakṣaṇa-vidhāyibhūḥ*' is not the same as '*Kāvya-tattva-vidbhūḥ*'. The latter, or men of literary taste were aware of the theory, but the former or writers on rhetoric were ignorant of it. In their blind worship of conventional categories, the rhetoricians seem to have neglected the views of critics though they deserved recogni-

<sup>1</sup> Vide—बुधस्यैकस्य प्रामादिकमपि तथाभिधानं स्यात्, न तु भूयसां तद्युक्तम् । तेन बुधैरिति बहुवचनम् । Ibid p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> न च बुधा भूयांसोऽनादरणीयं वस्त्वादरेण उपदिशेयुः—Ibid. p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> बुधैः = काव्यतत्त्वविद्भिः—*Vṛtti* on *Dhvanīyāloka*, I. 1.

<sup>4</sup> अणीयसीभिरपि चिरन्तनकाव्यलक्षणविधायिनां बुद्धिभिर्नुन्मीलितपूर्वम्.....

tion.<sup>1</sup> To supply this want in the standard works on rhetoric was one of the objects with which the *Dhvanyāloka* was written. By doing due justice to the theory of *Dhvani* which was so far only in a floating stage, the author of the *Dhvanyāloka* was sure of enlisting the sympathy and support of all *sahṛdayas* or critics of sound literary taste. By establishing the soundness of the theory on a solid basis in a well-planned book, by removing all possible objections that might be raised against the theory and by reinterpreting the accepted categories of rhetoric in the light of the new theory, Ānandavardhana thought that he was rendering a salutary service.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear from the above considerations that the *Dhvani*—theory was not thrown into the field of Sanskrit literary criticism all of a sudden. It was not in the nature of a Copernican revolution. The *Dhvanyāloka* itself unmistakably points to the existence of the theory among critics of note for a pretty long period before the work was actually written. And these critics, whoever they might have been, seem to have relied on their own response to literature in arriving at the theory instead of being noseled by the canons of criticism that were codified in works on rhetoric. They appear to have approached the masterpieces and classics of Sanskrit literature with an unbiassed and open mind, and their experience which could not be gainsaid was the basis on which they built up the rudiments of a new theory, since the earlier categories of criticism were found insufficient to account for their enjoyment of literature.<sup>3</sup>

According to these critics, then, the only criterion for exercising judgment on literary matters was the gift of a sound literary taste, or a responsive heart. And they took pride in styling

<sup>1</sup> यतो लक्षणकृतामेव स केवलं न प्रसिद्धः— Op. cit. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रसुप्तकल्पं मनसु परिपक्वधियां यदासीत् ।

तद् व्याकरोत्सहृदयोदयलाभहेतोरानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥

(—The concluding verse of the Dhv.)

Cf. तस्य हि ध्वनेः स्वरूपं सकलसत्कविकाव्योपनिषद्भूतमतिरमणीयमणीयसीभिरपि चिरन्तनकाव्यलक्षणविधाधिनां बुद्धिभिरनुमीलितपूर्वं अथ च रामायणमहाभारतादिनि लक्ष्ये सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धव्यवहारं लक्ष्यतां सङ्ख्ययनाम्नानन्दो मनसि लभतां प्रविष्टामिति प्रकाशयते ।

—Op. cit. p. 76.

themselves as *sahrdayas*. In this sense this word also must have been brought into currency only by about this time, as it is conspicuous by its absence in all ancient works on poetics. The word *sahrdaya* is very significant as laying emphasis on the most important condition of a literary critic, namely, the gift of a responsive heart, a heart which is essentially akin to that of the poet and which can share in full all that the poet has to communicate. This clearly shows the new angle of vision which these critics brought to bear upon their theorisings on poetry.

In some Mss. the *Dhvanyāloka* is found designated by the alternate title *Sahrdayāloka*. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact that Ānandavardhana was trying to systematise the ideas of the *Sahrdayas* before him, who had already evolved and preached the outlines of the *Dhvani*-theory. But this is only a conjecture.

But it gains added support from some allusions to *Sahrdayas* that had propounded the *Dhvani*-theory from writers like Mukula Bhaṭṭa and his pupil Pratihāra Indurāja who belong to a period anterior to Abhinavagupta. The plural in all these references deserves to be carefully noted: Some of the references are given below:

1 लक्षणासाग्विगाहित्वं तु ध्वनेः सहृदयैर्नूतनतयोपवर्णितस्य विद्यत इति दिशमुन्मीलयितुमिदमत्राक्तम् । — (Mukulabhāṭṭa's '*abhidhā-vṛtti-mātrkā*', N. S. Edn. p. 21 ).

2 तथाहि तत्र विवक्षितान्यपरता सहृदयैः काव्यवर्त्मनि निरूपिता ।  
— (Op. Cit. p. 19 ).

3 ननु यत्र काव्ये सहृदयहृदयाह्लादिनः प्रधानभूतस्य स्वशब्दव्यापारास्पृष्टत्वेन प्रतीयमानैकरूपस्यार्थस्य सद्भावस्तत्र तथाविधार्थाभिव्यक्तिहेतुः काव्यजीवितभूतः कैश्चित्सहृदयैर्ध्वनिर्नाम व्यञ्जकत्वभेदात्मा काव्यधर्मोऽभिहितः । — (Pratihārendurāja's *Laghuvṛtti* on Ūdbhaṭa's *Kāvya-lamkārasaṅgraha*, N. S. Edn. p. 92 ).

These references of course, are quite insufficient to prove the hypothesis that a circle of *Sahrdayas* first gave currency to the theory of *Dhvani*; for the expression '*sahrdayaiḥ*' can be taken as standing for the author of the *Dhvanyāloka* also,<sup>1</sup> and the plural number explained as indicative of respect. But why these

<sup>1</sup> Vide — Mm. P. V. Kane, *History of Alamkāra Literature*, pp. LX ff.

writers, belonging as they do to a rival school of thought, should accord such high respect to the author of the *Dhvanyāloka* is justifying. It looks very strange especially when we find that these very writers invariably use the singular with reference to the highest authorities even, when they are quoting from them. The only alternative left would be to construe the plural, as meant in derision, which also is not very plausible. On the other hand, there would be little difficulty if we consider that the expression *sahrdayah* in the plural is wide enough to include Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Dhvanyāloka*, and it need not appear strange if sometimes Ānandavardhana's work is quoted as that of the *Sahrdayas*,<sup>1</sup> since he was the foremost representative of the school of *Sahrdayas*.<sup>2</sup> Thus though incidentally Ānandavardhana may also be meant by the expression, it is not exclusively applicable to him. It primarily refers to a whole class of cultured critics that preceded Ānandavardhana. V. V. Sovani's contention<sup>3</sup> that *Sahrdaya* is the proper name of the *Dhvanīkārīkā-kūṭa* loses much force in the light of the above considerations.

In this connection the history of the usage of the word *Sahrdaya* itself will be very serviceable. All my efforts to trace in earlier writers a single usage of the expression '*sahrdaya*' in the sense made out by the *Dhvanī* theorists<sup>4</sup> ended in vain. In

<sup>1</sup> Vide — (i) तथा हि प्रतीयमानैकरूपस्य वस्तुवैविध्यं तैरुक्तं (तैः = सहृदयैः) वस्तुमात्ररसालंकारादिभेदेन । — *Laghuvṛtti* p. 93.

(ii) सहृदयैर्व्यञ्जकत्वमुक्तं "सर्वेकशरणमक्षयमि"त्यादौ । — *Op. cit.* p. 97.

(iii) अत एव च सहृदयैर्यत्र वाच्यस्य विवक्षितत्वं ... *Op. cit.* p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. सहृदयचक्रवर्ती सत्त्वयं ग्रन्थरुदिति यावत् — *Locana*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> The view is more fully dealt with in my chapter on "Authorship and Date of the *Dhvanyāloka*" in my Doctorate Thesis. For Sovani's view vide — 'Who is the author of the *Dhvanīkārīkās*?' *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 164-5.

<sup>4</sup> Abhinavagupta's famous explanation of the word *Sahrdaya* is repeated *verbatim* by most of the later writers, and it reads:— येषां काव्यानुशीलनाभ्या-संविशाद्विशदीभूते मनोमुकुरे वर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते स्वहृदयसंवादाजः सहृदयाः । (*Locana*, p. 77). In support of this explanation Abhinavagupta cites a verse from Bharata's *Nāṭya-Sāstra* as authority. But even in this verse the expression *Sahrdaya* does not occur.

Cf. "यथो हृदयसंवादी तस्य भावो रसोद्भवः ।

शरीरं व्याप्यते तेन शुष्कं काष्ठमिवाग्निना ॥ — *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VII, 7.

the whole range of Sanskrit literature and criticism as also in the numerous lexicons belonging to an age earlier than that of the *Dhvanyāloka*, the word *sahṛdaya* is conspicuous by its absence.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon is certainly unique and in view of the importance that came to be attached to the expression by Ānandavardhana and his successors, one may hazard the conjecture that most probably the idea arose in the circle of talented critics who were also responsible for the propagation of the *Dhvani*-theory. This piece of negative evidence also will acquire some value when considered also with the other facts.

On this point, there is a further piece of evidence coming from an ancient Kannada work on Rhetoric viz., the *Kavirāja-mārga*, by Nṛpatuṅga, a Rāstrakūṭa King, also known by the name of Amoghavarṣa (815-877 A. D.). This date makes him a senior contemporary of Ānandavardhana. Nṛpatuṅga is an out and out follower of the ancient *alaṅkāra*-school and his *Kavirāja-mārga* is more often than not a Kannada rendering of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* and Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. There is no reason to suspect that he had read the *Dhvanyāloka* which arose in Kashmir about that time. On the other hand, it looks more plausible that he had not read it in view of the fact that at least the period of one or two generations must be held to have elapsed before the *Dhvanyāloka* could become popular in such remote provinces as Karpātaka. Now, this Nṛpatuṅga alludes to *Dhvani*, in its technical sense and unlike Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin (who never allude to it) he thinks it proper that a place should be given to it in the scheme of *alaṅkāras*. Hence he recognises *Dhvani* as an additional *alaṅkāra* and illustrates it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The earliest reference to the word *Sahṛdaya* is in a quotation found in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* under I. ii. 21.

वचसि यमधिगम्य स्पन्दते वाचकश्चैर्वितथमपि तथात्वं यत्र वस्तु प्रयाति ।

उद्यति हि स तादृक्कापि वैदर्भरीतो सहृदयहृदयानां रञ्जकः कोऽपि पाकः ॥

But Vāmana was a Kashmirian who was perhaps a contemporary of the new critics; hence Vāmana's usage does not alter the position.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Dhvaniyembudalaṅkāraṁ  
Dhvaniyisugum śābdadindamarthade dūṣyaṁ ।  
Nenevudidanintu kamalado—  
[animiṣayugamoppi torpudintidu codyaṁ ॥

—Kavirājamārga, III. 209.

The precise meaning of the last three lines is not very clear.

This statement of Nṛpatuṅga will prove beyond doubt that the term *Dhvani* had already been invested with its technical sense in the realm of poetics even before the *Dhvanyāloka* was written, and it had become popular not only in Kashmir, but even in a remote province like Kārnāṭaka since a Kannada writer on poetics considers it necessary to refer to it and recognise it as an independent *alaṅkāra*<sup>1</sup> in his scheme of poetics. The classification of *Dhvani* recognised by Nṛpatuṅga<sup>2</sup> is also primitive and undeveloped.

Similarly, Pratiḥarendurāja also refers to a classification of *Dhvani* much simpler than that of Ānandavardhana. He quotes a scheme of ten divisions of *Dhvani* which, though similar to that of Ānandavardhana's in essentials, is less exhaustive. But these ten divisions mark an advance over the two divisions mentioned by Nṛpatuṅga thus indicating that the *Dhvani*-theory was growing until it came to be finally systematised by Ānandavardhana.<sup>3</sup>

Granting, then, that the outlines of the *Dhvani*-theory had already been forestalled by the school of *sahṛdayas* long before the *Dhvanyāloka* came into prominence, can we glean anything about the way they came to coin the strange expression *Dhvani* for signifying this most original theory of literary appreciation? The *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana* throw a flood of light on this point as well.

The definition of *Dhvani* given in the *Dhvanyāloka* is :

यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थो ।

व्यङ्ग्यः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूत्रिभिः कथितः ॥

The phrase *Sūribhiḥ Kathitah* is not without significance. The author purposely points out that *Sūris* are found to style a particular class of poetry as *Dhvani*. The allusion is

<sup>1</sup> " *Dhvanīyembudalaṅkāraḥ* " may also be taken to mean ' *Dhvanīrṇāma ālaṅkāraḥ* ' i. e. ' *Dhvani* ' is no more than an *alaṅkāra*.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. *Śabda-dhvani* and *arthadhvani*.

<sup>3</sup> A fuller account of the scheme of *Dhvani* classification quoted by Pratiḥarendurāja, and a comparative estimate of it with Ānandavardhana's scheme, appears in the chapter entitled 'Critics of the *Dhvani* Theory', in my Thesis.



clearly to the *sahṛdayas* who spoke of *dhvani* for the first time. The *ṛtli* makes it abundantly clear that the word *dhvani* in the sense used has the sanction of eminent persons and hence should not be dismissed as being the concoction of a third-rate person.<sup>1</sup> Here also *Sūribhiḥ*<sup>2</sup> is paraphrased as *Kāvya-Tatvārtha-Dūrsibhiḥ*,<sup>3</sup> so that it might stand for *sahṛdayas* as contrasted from traditional writers on rhetoric who, as we saw above, are referred to by the expression *Kāvya-Lakṣaṇa-Vidhāyibhiḥ*. Though in this context the word *Sūribhiḥ* should properly signify only the *sahṛdayas*, the *ṛtli* alludes to another possible sense in which the word might be taken. Grammarians are said to deserve most the title 'sūri', since all branches of study are built upon the groundwork of grammar. The expression 'Dhvani' was used by the Grammarians to denote certain aspects of speech and meaning. And the *sahṛdayas* who held the views of the grammarians in high regard appear to have borrowed this expression from the field of grammar.<sup>4</sup> In other words, the *sahṛdayas* derived light and guidance from the grammarians when they were faced with the problem of clearly defining the essentials of poetry. The theory was evolved by them independently, and they found proper designation for it in the works on grammar.

To what extent the literary critics were influenced by the grammarians, is the next question which may be taken up for consideration. There can be no doubt that in their appraisal of beauty in literature, these critics were faced with the phenomenon of suggestion. More often than not, they must have been struck by the strange phenomenon of the element of poetic charm eluding their analytic intellect. There was no mistaking their aesthetic response, but to no tangible aspect of poetry, could they

<sup>1</sup> Dhvanyāloka, I. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "सूरिभिः कथितः" इति विद्वदुपज्ञेयमुक्तिः, न तु यथाकथंचित्प्रवृत्तेति प्रतिपाद्यते । — Ibid. p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. प्रथमे हि विद्वांसो वैयाकरणाः, व्याकरणमूलत्वात् सर्वविद्यानाम् । ते च तेषु श्रूयमाणेषु वर्णेषु ध्वनिरिति व्यवहरन्ति । तथैवाप्यैस्तन्मनानुसारिभिः सूरिभिः काव्यतत्त्वार्थ-दर्शिभिः वाच्यवाचकसमिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यमिति व्यपदेश्यो व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्याद् ध्वनिरित्युक्तः ।

—Op. cit. pp. 240-6.

attribute this element of aesthetic appeal. Now it would appear to be instanced in style, now in sense, now in the emotion evoked, and further analysis led them nowhere in particular. By constant perusal of specimens of great literature, they must have come to the conclusion that the underlying principle of poetry is something which cannot be explained in terms of its external features such as *Alaṅkāra* or *Guṇa*. It was something more fundamental and more intrinsic. Though it was cognised only through the medium of outward symbols viz., words and their meanings in poetry, still it was something out-topping them, endowing them with a new lease of life as it were. The critics instead of dismissing this subtle principle of suggestion involved in all great poetry as inscrutable, persisted in their critical analysis till they came to some definite conclusions.

In the course of their examination of the problem of meaning, the literary critics naturally looked up to logic and grammar for light and guidance. They wanted to see if a similar experience had been scientifically explained by the earlier writers. How can a word give rise to a meaning altogether different from the conventional one; and how to explain this suggested sense as being the source of all aesthetic delight? These were the two questions confronting the literary critics and awaiting satisfactory solution at their hands. The first question formed an important subject of enquiry in Grammar as well as Philosophy. And when the literary critics discovered that in Grammar the same problem had been tackled successfully, they readily borrowed not only their conclusions but even their nomenclature. The designation '*dhvani*' which had been made use of by the grammarians in explaining their principle of *sphoṭa* was transferred to the field of literary criticism.

*Dhvani* in ordinary parlance means 'tone' or 'sound'. But treatises on Grammar, it was given a more technical significance. Its usage in a five-fold sense is discernible in the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. To get a clear idea of these various senses in which the word '*dhvani*' is used, an examination of the theory of *sphoṭa* itself, of which it forms an intrinsic part, is indispensable.

The theory of *sphoṭa* was propounded by the grammarians as an explanation of the problem— 'how words signify meaning'? Words will be found to be nothing but a combination of letters and one might popularly hold that the letters are the ultimate causes of meaning. Such a view is not acceptable to the grammarians. A mere grouping of letters cannot lead to sense according to them for the following reasons :—

(1) Meaning is conveyed by a word as a whole and not by the letters individually. Letters cannot signify anything severally because they are nothing more than mere sounds. Thus, when the word *gauḥ* is uttered, meaning does not follow from any of the three letters 'ga', 'au' and 'visarga' that go to form the word. In case one letter were sufficient to signify the meaning, the other two would be rendered superfluous.<sup>1</sup>

(2) If it is held that a combination of these letters is responsible for giving rise to the meaning, such a combination itself would be found impossible, inasmuch as letters are not simultaneously uttered and, moreover, they are liable to disappear as soon as they are uttered.<sup>2</sup>

(3) If all the letters as recollected in a single act of remembrance are held to signify meaning, even then there would be difficulty. Words such as 'sara' and 'rasa' consisting of identical letters but in a different order would have to signify one and the same meaning, which is not borne out by experience.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the individual letters are found inadequate to explain the phenomenon of word-signification. If the parts of a word ( viz., letters ) are meaningless, the whole word too may be called meaningless in a way.<sup>4</sup> But the universal experience of meaning cannot be gainsaid. How, then, are we to explain it? The reply of the grammarians is that we have to postulate the

<sup>1</sup> वर्णानां प्रत्येकं वाचकत्वे द्वितीयादिवर्णानर्थक्यात् ।

—*Locana-Vyākhyā-Kaumudī*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> समुदितानां वाचकत्वे क्षणिकानां क्रमिकाणां च समुदायस्यैवासंभवात् ।

—*Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> एकस्मृतिस्थानां वाचकत्वे सरो रस इत्यादावविशेषात् । *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. वर्णैरनर्थकैरभ्यमाणं पदमप्यनर्थकमेव स्यात् ।

—*Durgā on Nirukta*, 1. 3.

existence of another entity called *sphoṭa* which is suggested by the sounds of letters, and which in its turn reveals the meaning. The *sphoṭa*, again, is not indiscriminately suggested by the several letters but by the last only as conditioned by a sequential, mental impression of the earlier ones.<sup>1</sup>

By admitting the concept of *sphoṭa*, the grammarians solved the difficulties seen above which arise if letters are momentary, successive and devoid of meaning by themselves. Whereas *sphoṭa* is said to be eternal, indivisible and suggestive of meaning, letters differ from word to word, and time to time. But *sphoṭa* is one, constant and unchanging. In the realm of language, sounds are responsible for the seeming differences and dichotomies while *sphoṭa* is the one abiding and enduring principle which stands for unity. Even as the *Ātman* in the *Vedānta*, *Sphoṭa* represents the Reality while the sounds are only apparent. And like the *Ātman*, again, *sphoṭa* is also equated with the universal *Brahman* and the whole world is spoken of as its *vivarta* or manifestation in diverse forms.<sup>2</sup>

It is in connection with the *sphoṭa* theory that the Grammarians made use of the expression *Dhvani*. The various sounds that are spoken of as suggestive of *sphoṭa* are referred to by the same name '*dhvani*'.<sup>3</sup> Thus in the stock example of '*Gauh*', there are three sounds or letters or *dhvanis*, viz., *Ga*, *Au* and *visarga*. Each of these *dhvanis* suggests the *sphoṭa* of the word as a whole. To put it in other words, each of the three *dhvanis* is a '*vyāñjaka*' of '*Gopadasphoṭa*' and '*Gopadasphoṭa*' is *vyāṅgya*. This *sphoṭa* which is of a unified character gives rise to the meaning or '*artha*' viz., the idea of an animal possessing dewlap, hump, hoofs and horns'. Though the *sphoṭa* is suggested even by the utterance of the first letter, it is not clear enough to be signi-

<sup>1</sup> पूर्वपूर्वानुभवसंस्कारसहितान्त्यवर्णबुद्धिब्यञ्जनीयः एकमिदं पदं वाक्यमित्यादिप्रत्यक्ष-  
प्रमाणक एव शब्दः । *Kaumudī*, Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।

विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥ —*Vākyapadīya*, I. i.

<sup>3</sup> इह ध्वनिशब्देन...वर्णातिरिक्तस्फोटामिष्यञ्जका वर्णा एव गृहीता गकारादयः  
तेषामपि वैयाकरणैर्ध्वनिशब्देन व्यवहारात् । —*Kaumudī*, p. 241.

ficative. The same is the case with the *sphoṭa* suggested by the subsequent letters, except the last one. *Sphoṭa* is rendered capable of signification only when it is suggested finally by the utterance of the last letter.<sup>1</sup> The real nature of all the letters is grasped only at this stage, when one has the awareness of the *sphoṭa* as suggested by the last letter. Hence the *dhvanis* are also described as *antya-buddhi-nirgrāhya*. And *nāda* is only a synonym for *dhvani* when understood in this sense.<sup>2</sup> The idea is clearly brought out by Bhartṛhari when he says:—

“यथानुवाकः श्लोको वा सोढत्वमुपगच्छति ।  
 आवृत्त्या न तु स ग्रन्थः प्रत्यावृत्ति निरूप्यते ॥  
 प्रत्ययेरनुपाख्येयैर्ग्रहणानुग्रहैस्तथा ।  
 ध्वनिप्रकाशिते शब्दे स्वरूपमवधार्यते ।  
 नादिराहितबीजायामन्येन ध्वनिना सह ।  
 आवृत्तिपरिपाकायां बुद्धौ शब्दोऽवधार्यते ”<sup>3</sup>

The instance is taken of a student who is engaged in the task of learning a hymn or stanza by rote. He is found to repeat the same thing over and over again till he has definitely committed it to memory. The knowledge that he has successfully learnt it by rote comes to the student only after he repeats the text correctly for the last time. Though it is the last recitation only that secures him success, the earlier recitations are not without their value. As a matter of fact, without the earlier recitations, he could never have learnt the piece by rote successfully. Thus, though the whole piece is repeated every time, its full mastery is

<sup>1</sup> वर्णानामन्यो यो वर्णः तद्विषयबुद्ध्या स स्फोटो नितरां व्यक्तरेण रूपेण गृह्यते ।

—Kaumudī, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> तथा श्रूयमाना ये वर्णा नादशब्दवाच्या अन्यबुद्धिनिर्वाहाः स्फोटाभिव्यञ्जकाः ते ध्वनिशब्देनोक्ताः । —Locana, pp. 241-2.

<sup>3</sup> Vākyapadīya, I. 83-5. “Pratyayaib.....” is quoted in the Locana, and the other two verses are quoted in the Kaumudī, Loc. cit. Cf. also the quotation from the Mahābhāṣya:—

व्यक्तरूपग्रहणानुगुणा ह्यनुपाख्येयाकारा बहव उपायभूताः प्रत्ययाः ध्वनिभिः प्रकाशयमाने शब्दे उत्पद्यमानाः शब्दस्वरूपावग्रहेनैव भवन्ति ।

not gained till the successful recitation in the end. In the same manner, it is alleged, the *sphoṭa* though suggested by every letter is not fully significant till it is finally suggested by the last. The outlines of *sphoṭa* at the earlier stages will be blurred and hazy. It becomes clear and significant simultaneously with the utterance of the last letter.

Just as the grammarians referred to the letters that are suggestive ( *vyāñjaka* ) of *sphoṭa* by the term *dhvani*, the literary critics also employed the same expression to stand for words and senses that are suggestive of other senses in the field of literature.<sup>1</sup> The literary critics were particularly fascinated by this expression, since it had several other usages besides the one explained above in the field of grammar and they too were in search of a similar significant expression that could equally apply to all the important points at issue. The other usages also are indicated briefly in what follows.

The view of *sphoṭa* detailed above is according to that school of grammarians who hold that *sphoṭa* or *śabda* is eternal and hence uncreated, since a beginning implies also an end. They declare that *śabda* is always suggested and never caused. Opposed to this school of *Abhivyañjativādins*, there is also another school of grammarians upholding *utpatti-pakṣa*. They think that *sphoṭa* too is caused or created, and their view is also summarised by Bhartrhari and following him, by Abhinavagupta. Bhartrhari says:—

यः संयोगविभागाभ्यां करणैरुपजन्यते ।

स स्फोटः शब्दजाः शब्दाः ध्वनयोऽन्यैरुदाहृताः ॥<sup>2</sup>

“The first origination of sound due to conjunction and disjunction of the various organs of speech-production is called *sphoṭa*, the other sounds born of this *sphoṭa* are called *Dhvanis* by others”.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> तेन व्यञ्जकौ शब्दार्थावपीह ध्वनिशब्देनोक्तौ । —Locana, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Vākya-padiya, I. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. A. Sankaran does not appear to have correctly understood this verse. He writes on p. 67 of his book, “Some Aspects of Literary criticism in Sanskrit”, “when a drum is beaten with a stick there is produced a sound in the space nearest the drum. It is not this that is heard, but it

All the commentators on this verse agree that it can be interpreted in two ways, one from the standpoint of those who hold that *sphoṭa* is *anitya* or non-eternal and another from the standpoint of those who consider *sphoṭa* to be eternal.<sup>1</sup> In either of these interpretations, it is presumed that the view is held by a school of grammarians.<sup>2</sup> However closely the theory might resemble the view of the *Vaiśeṣikas*, it cannot be maintained that *Bhartrhari* is here alluding to their view in so far as the verse expresses his own *Siddhānta* and not a *Pūrvapakṣa*.

( continued from the previous page )

generates a succession of sound waves just like the everwidening concentric circles of light ripples that are caused by throwing a stone in still water of a pond, or like the successive ringing sounds caused by the striking of a bell. And the last of this succession of waves strikes the ear and it is this that is heard. These last sounds that strike the ear are called *Dhvani* :—

यः संयोगविभागाभ्यां करणैरुपजन्वते ।

स स्फोटः शब्दजाः ध्वनयोऽन्येरुदाहृताः ॥

( संयोग and विभाग refer to the contact of the stick with the drum and its separation from it when beaten ) ”.

This explanation would be correct if it is regarded as the view of a representative of the *Vaiśeṣika* School, who does not subscribe to the theory of *sphoṭa*, and who admits a class of *dhvanyātmaka-śabdā*s or meaningless sounds produced from drums and so on. But the verse has no reference at all to the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* thinkers. It embodies the view-point of a rival school of grammarians who recognise *sphoṭa* and yet believe in its being caused. The verse is intended to give an alternative explanation of *sphoṭa* and not an exposition of *Dhvanis* as understood by the *Vaiśeṣika* thinkers. *Sphoṭa-vāda* has nothing to do with *dhvanyātmaka-śabdā*s or meaningless sounds produced from drums and so on. ( For the *Nyāya Vaiśeṣika* view of *Dhvani*, vide,

शब्दो ध्वनिश्च वर्णश्च मृदङ्गादिभ्यो ध्वनिः ।

— *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, *Kārikā* 64 and for their condemnation of *sphoṭa*, vide.

तदेवं वर्णेभ्यः एव संस्कारद्वारेणार्थप्रत्ययसंभवादयुक्ता स्फोटकल्पना and also गगनकुसुमस्येव स्फोटकल्पना न युक्ता ।

— *Śrīdhara's Nyāya-Kandālī*, *Vizianagaram Skt. Series*, pp. 269-70.

<sup>1</sup> We have followed the *anitya-pakṣa* in interpreting the verse, since the *nitya-pakṣa* will not yield the desired result.

Cf. वैयाकरणैरेव प्रक्रियान्तरानुसारेणोक्तां दिशमनुसृत्य व्याचष्टे ।

— *Kaumudī*, p. 289.

An alternative explanation of *sphoṭa* is offered in the verse *Yah Saṁyoga*—etc. *Saṁyoga* and *Vibhāga* here refer to the contact and separation of the internal air with the *Karaṇas* or the various organs of speech-production.<sup>1</sup> The first effect of such a contact or separation is, according to this view, *sphoṭa*. *Sphoṭa* is thus said to be produced by a cause, and is hence non-eternal. And further, this *sphoṭa* which initially comes into existence is said to be responsible for the production of a whole series of sounds, the last sound alone being clearly perceptible. The initial *sphoṭa* may be likened to the first ringing sound of a bell and the other series of sounds produced later on to the prolonged resonance of the first ring. And such numberless sounds resulting from *sphoṭa* are also termed *Dhvani*.<sup>2</sup> *Dhvani* in this sense is not a *vyāñjaka* of *sphoṭa* but on the contrary a *vyāñgya*. In other words, the sounds suggested by *sphoṭa* also can be termed *Dhvani*. On this analogy, suggested sense also was given the designation of *Dhvani* by literary critics.<sup>3</sup>

The word *Dhvani* can thus stand for two entirely opposite things according as it is interpreted in one or the other sense explained above. When taken in the first sense, *Dhvani* is that which suggests *sphoṭa*; according to the second, *Dhvani* is that which is suggested by *sphoṭa*. This change in the connotation of the word *dhvani* is brought about by the difference in outlook regarding the true nature of *sphoṭa* by rival schools of grammarians.

Thirdly, the process of suggestion too is often referred to by the same expression *Dhvani*. *Dhvani* is distinguishable into two classes, *Prākṛta* and *Vaikhṛta*. The former has reference to the internal phenomena of sound-production, the fund of internal energy which is inherent or natural and hence invariable in

<sup>1</sup> Vide,— करणैः = कण्ठताल्लादिभिः, संयोगविभागाभ्यां = वायुसंयोगवियोगाभ्यां, यः = शब्दः, प्रथमं उपजन्त्यते सः स्फोटः बोधकः उत्तरोत्तरशब्दानां कारणं च । ये च शब्दजाः = स्फोटाख्यात् शब्दात् जाताः, ते ध्वनयः अन्यैः = स्फोटकार्यत्ववादिभिः आचार्यैः, कथिताः ।

—Pandit Sūryanārāyaṇa Śukla's commentary on the *Vākyapadīya*, I. 102.

<sup>2</sup> तेषां घण्टानुरणनरूपत्वं तावदस्ति, ते च ध्वनिशब्देनोक्ताः । —Locana, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> एवं घण्टानिर्वाहस्थानीयोऽनुरणनात्मोपलक्षितो व्यङ्ग्योऽप्यर्थो ध्वनिरिति व्यवहृतः ।

—Op. cit.



every individual. The latter or *Vaikṛta-dhvani* is in singular contrast with the former, being unnatural or momentary. *Prākṛta-dhvani* is said to be the natural cause in the manifestation of *sphoṭa*, since, like *sphoṭa*, it is also one and indivisible and identical in all instances. But the diversities are brought about in sounds at a later stage by *Vaikṛta-dhvani*.<sup>1</sup> The differences which are seen in tone, pitch and speed among sounds do not warrant the conclusion that there are similar differences in their *sphoṭa* as also *Prākṛta-dhvani*. As a matter of fact, all the differences are to be understood as the outcomes of *Vaikṛta-dhvani*<sup>2</sup> only. Now the process involved in bringing about the differences like *druta*, and *Vilambita* (fast and slow) amongst sounds is not the same as that of pronunciation. It is something over and above it. To take an instance, let us suppose that a word is being pronounced in a low voice. The person who is addressed will either hear it completely or will not hear it at all. There is no part-recognition and part-ignorance.<sup>3</sup> The effect of the process of pronunciation is thus a consistent whole which does not admit of being broken up. But the differences are seen, and they are due to the operation of another process involving *Vaikṛta-dhvanis*. And metaphorically the process itself which embodies these *dhvams*, is also styled *Dhvani*.<sup>4</sup>

In like manner, the literary critics held that the term *Dhvani* could be applied to the process of signification, a process having an independent existence apart from the generally accepted pro-

1 स्फोटस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः प्राकृतो ध्वनिरिष्यते ।  
वृत्तिभेदे निमित्तत्वं वैकृतः प्रतिपद्यते ॥ —Vākyapadiya, I. 77.

2 शब्दस्योर्ध्वमभिव्यक्तेः वृत्तिभेदं तु वैकृताः ।  
ध्वनयः समुपोहन्ते स्फोटात्मा तैर्न भिद्यते ॥ —Ibid. I. 78.

3 अर्त्पीयसापि यत्नेन शब्दमुच्चारितं मतिः ।  
यदि वा नैव गृह्णानि वर्णं वा सकलं स्फुटम् ॥

— The Śloka-Vārttika as quoted in the Locana, p. 240.

4 यन्त्रे “कुनविलम्बितादिवृत्तिभेदात्मा” इति तदुत्पादकत्वात्तदामकस्वोक्ति-  
रोपचारिकी द्रष्टव्या । —Kaumudī, p. 244.

cesses viz., *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣanā*, and *Tātparya*.<sup>1</sup> *Abhidhā* is the process by which all primary meanings are understood; *Lakṣanā* is the name given to a process of secondary signification. *Tātparya* or drift is said to be a third process by the *Mīmāṃsakas*, as a result of which knowledge of the drift of a passage is obtained.

Thus the term *Dhvani* which was found to be used by the Grammarians in a four-fold sense was borrowed *verbatim* into the field of poetics also in all the four senses. It was looked upon as a very happy expression, since it could serve several purposes at one and the same time. It could be simultaneously applied to all factors of suggestiveness in poetry, viz., the suggesters (whether word or sense), the suggested meaning and the process of suggestion itself. Finally the whole work of literature too which comprised such suggestive factors came to be termed *Dhvani*.<sup>2</sup>

One is almost tempted to say that the whole discussion is highly technical and pedantic betraying nothing more than the love of the commentators for ingenuity and undue hairsplitting. But this is not the whole truth. Even in the *Kārikās* of the *Dhvanyāloka*, the expression *Dhvani* has been used to stand now for *Kāvya*, now for suggested sense and so on. We cannot dismiss the phenomenon simply as a lapse on the part of the author. For instance, in the very first *Kārikā*, *Dhvani* is said to be the soul of *Kāvya*.<sup>3</sup> Later on in the thirteenth *Kārikā*, we are told that *Kāvya-viśeṣa* where the element of suggestion predominates is called *Dhvani*.<sup>4</sup> Ordinarily understood, the earlier statement will conflict with the succeeding one. But it is as good as certain that the author deliberately used these words since he was aware of the various senses in which the term *Dhvani* could be

<sup>1</sup> अस्माभिरपि प्रसिद्धेभ्यः शब्दव्यापारेभ्योऽभिधातात्पर्यलक्षणरूपेभ्योऽतिरिक्तो व्यापारो ध्वनिरुक्तः । — Locana, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> एवं चतुष्कमपि ध्वनिः; तद्योगाच्च समस्तमपि काव्यं ध्वनिः । — Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Vide— काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाज्ञातपूर्वः—*Dhvanyāloka*, I. 1.

<sup>4</sup> यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थो ।

व्यङ्ग्यः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूरिभिः कथितः ॥ —Ibid. I. 13.

employed.<sup>1</sup> The *Locana* also notes this feature and justifies it unmistakably along the lines indicated above.<sup>2</sup> As the *Kaumudī* (commentary on the *Locana*) makes it clear, the four factors involved in suggestion, viz., the suggestive words, the suggestive senses, the process of suggestion and the suggested senses, are all *Samudāyins* or members that unite in the making up of the *Samudāya* or the whole which is here nothing but poetry. The whole, in a way, may be said to be identical with the parts and in a way distinct from the parts. So there is no fallacy when the author refers to them as a whole sometimes and separately at other times by the use of the same word.<sup>3</sup>

Abhinavagupta also tries to offer some justification for the use of the expression *dhvani* in all the above senses on the basis of etymology. The word *dhvani* can be derived in different ways :—

1. Dhvanatīti Dhvaniḥ — 'That which suggests' (Both word and meaning can be *dhvani* in this sense).
2. Dhvanyate iti Dhvaniḥ — 'That which is suggested' (sense only comes under this category).
3. Dhvananaṁ Dhvaniḥ (Vyāpāraḥ) — 'The process of suggestion'.
4. Dhvanisamudāyaḥ Dhvaniḥ (Kāvyaṁ) — 'The whole viz., work of literature, formed out of these elements of *dhvani*'.

Ānandavardhana's crisp remark "काव्यतत्त्वार्थदर्शिभिः वाच्य-वाचकसंमिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यमिति व्यपदेश्यो व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्याद्ध्वनिरित्युक्तः" is shown to imply all these considerations.

So far the extent of the influence of grammatical speculations on literary theory has been sketched. The nature of similarity subsisting between the *Vaiyākaraṇa* conception of *Dhvani* and the concept of *Dhvani* as elaborated in literary criticism has also

<sup>1</sup> The contention of Dr. Goda Varma that the *Kārika-kāra* used the word *Dhvani* only in one sense to mean *Kāvya*, loses all force in the light of the above facts. For his view, vide, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V. No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> तेन व्यतिरेकाभ्यतिरेकव्यपदेशोऽपि न युक्तः । — *Locana*, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> समुदायसमुदायिनोर्मिथो भेदाभेदयोर्वस्तिवयोरेव सद्भावात् तदुज्जीवनेन भेदाभेद-व्यपदेशोपपत्तिरित्यर्थः । — *Loc. cit.*

been indicated. We are now in a position to examine whether the similarity is fundamental or not. Even a cursory examination of the facts presented above is enough to reveal the truth that the similarity is only outward and not intrinsic. Of course, in the technique of nomenclature, the two views agree almost to a letter. But there is not a shadow of resemblance in what the terms stand for. This is clear enough proof that the literary critics were indebted to the grammarians only to a small extent, as regards terminology and for the most part they had to evolve the principles of their theory anew.

It is significant to note in this context, how Bhāmaha, the ancient rhetorician openly ridicules the theory of *sphoṭa*<sup>1</sup> though he is second to none in his regard for the grammarians.<sup>2</sup> When however the *Sahṛdayas* came into prominence as literary critics the earlier attitude of hostility was replaced by one of positive reverence. The changed outlook may be taken as an index of the new spirit of enquiry that was prevalent in the age immediately preceding that of Ānandavardhana.

Though the term *Dhvani* having the sanction of Grammarians was appropriated into the field of literary criticism, all the difficulties with which the critics were faced could not be satisfactorily solved. No doubt, the grammarians betray a knowledge of some instances of suggestion. But suggestion in poetry is not the same as the *Dhvani* of the Grammarians. On the other hand it is singularly distinct. What is more, even the grammarians had not found it necessary to look upon *Dhvani* or *Vyañjanā vyūpāra* as a separate process on a par with the other two accepted processes viz., *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā*.<sup>3</sup> There was a consensus

शपथैरपि चादेयं वचो न स्फोटवादिनाम् ।

नभःकुसुममस्तीति श्रद्धयात्कस्सचेतनः ॥ —Kāvya-lamkāra, VI, 12.

वियानां सततमप्राश्रयोऽपरासां

... ..

अदेयं जगति मतं हि पाणिनीयम् ॥ — Ibid. VI. 63.

It was only the late writer Nāgeśa-bhaṭṭa that pleaded for the acceptance of *Vyañjanā* as a separate *vṛtti* even by the grammarians.

of. 'वैयाकरणानामप्येतत्स्वीकार आवश्यकः' — *Manjūṣā*, p. 160.

of opinion amongst all the recognised *darśanas* or systems of philosophy that *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā* were sufficient to explain the problem of the import of words. Suggestion in poetry, and in poetry, suggestion of an emotion in particular, could not be brought under any of these recognised functions of words. So the literary critics had to take into account all the possibilities of *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā* as illustrated by the several philosophic schools before formulating any new doctrine. Just as the linguistic analysis of the Grammarians helped the critics by supplying them with a significant title (*dhvani*) for their theory, in the same way the intellectual analysis of words and their ways by the philosophers served as a basis on which these critics could securely build the structures of their theory.

From Ānandavardhana's own statements it is clear that the theory was current only in broad outline and the details were yet to be worked out. That is why it was made fun of by contemporary critics like Manoratha.<sup>1</sup> It was to the task of removing this charge of vagueness that Ānandavardhana addressed himself.<sup>2</sup>

Before closing this section, it must be mentioned to the credit of the predecessors of Ānandavardhana that they had realised the importance of genius in the critic as much as in the poet. The concomitance of poetic genius and critical taste which they laid down as the *sine qua non* of a *connoisseur* may be considered as their final achievement. It is a remarkable fact that they considered the creative and the critical instincts as one and the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. तथा चान्येन कृत एवात्र श्लोकः --

यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किञ्चन मनःप्रह्लादि सालंरुति

ध्रुवस्त्रै रचितं च यन्न वचनेर्वैकोक्तिश्चून्त्ये च यत् ।

काव्यं तद् ध्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसञ्जडो

नो विद्मोऽभिधाति किं सुमतिना पृष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः ॥

— Dhvanyāloka, p. 58.

अन्येनेति ग्रन्थकृतसमानकालमाविनेव मनोरथनाम्ना कविना—Locana.

Cf. न चैवंविधस्य ध्वनेर्वक्ष्यमाणप्रभेदतद्भेदसङ्कलनया महाविषयस्य यत् प्रकाशनं तदत्र प्रसिद्धान्कारविशेषमात्रप्रतिपादनेन तुल्यमिति तद्भाविनचेतसां युक्त एव संरम्भः । न च तेषु कथांश्चिदीर्ष्या कलुषितशेषमुषाकत्वमाविष्करणीयम् । — Dhvanyāloka, p. 246.

in their most significant moments. Their very pride in styling themselves as *sahridayas* bears ample testimony to this fact, though critics were not lacking who laughed at them on this score. <sup>1</sup> The concomitance of genius and taste does not in itself sum up the whole life of the complex and difficult art of criticism, but without it, criticism would really be impossible. "Genius is to aesthetics what the ego is to philosophy, the only supreme and absolute reality," said Schelling; and without subduing the mind to this transcendental system, it remains true that 'what must always be inexplicable to mere reflection is just what gives power to poetry'. <sup>2</sup> The predecessors of Ānandavardhana preached this doctrine for the first time broadly and it was left to Ānandavardhana to work out every detail and place the theory on a firm footing by elaborating it as the most perfect literary theory in his *magnum opus* the *Dhvanyāloka*.

<sup>1</sup> तदलीकसहृदयत्वभावनामुकुलितलोचनैर्नृत्यते, — *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 57. also, न च तत्समयान्तःपातिनः सहृदयान् कांश्चित् परिकल्प्य तत्प्रसिद्धया ध्वनौ काव्यव्यपदेशः प्रवर्तितोऽपि सकलविद्वन्मनोपाहितामवलम्बते । *Ibid.* p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Spingarn, *Creative Criticism*, p. 44.

## VIDYĀDHARA

BY

BIMALACHARAN DEB

Bengal appears to have earned a niche (albeit an aching one) in the hearts of both Pathan and Moghul. The cause was the perennial and never-ending turmoils, peculiarly her own, which kept her rulers and would-be rulers always on the qui vive, and, indeed, it was so bad that the worried ones were constrained to coin a proverb, which is still current and, it seems, bids fair to remain current:—"Hujjat-e-Bāngālā Hikmat-e-Cheen", literally "the turmoils of Bengal, the cleverness in arts and crafts of the Chinese". A trifle expanded to clearly bring out the meaning, "If you talk of turmoils, there is no place on earth which can outdo Bengal; if you talk of cleverness in arts and crafts, there is no people on earth who can outdo the Chinese".

The cause of all this worry was the people of Bengal, led by their zemindars, i. e., the landlords who, among themselves, parcelled out practically the entire Soobah of Bengal, each possessing as much as he could control and maintaining an army of his own,—fighting among themselves, and, when occasion required, fighting the Mohammedans. As Abul Fazl informs us in his "Ayeen Akbari" (Gladwin's Translation, Vol. II, Part I), these zemindars were "mostly koits" (i. e., Kāyasths, vulgo 'Koits', 'kayets'). They acknowledged the authority of the Mohammedan rulers so long, and only so long, as they felt constrained to do so and threw off all allegiance and pretence thereof at the very first opportunity, assuming the regal title and state, including the practice of striking their own coins.

This made successive invasions of Bengal by Mughal armies imperatively necessary, because, before one trouble was fairly quelled, another started and perhaps on a larger scale.

One such turmoil had its repercussion in distant Rajputana, and the city of Jaipur owes something material to it. It happened thus,

Before Shahjahan had been long on the throne of Delhi, one of the Bengal zemindars, Pratāpāditya (a Kāyastha) proclaimed himself "King of Yaśohara" (Jessore). This led to Raja Man Singh of Amber being sent with an army to Bengal to subjugate Pratāpāditya. There were several encounters between Pratāpāditya's army and Raja Man Singh's, and on each occasion the latter came off second best. At one of these encounters, one of the sons of Raja Man Singh lost his life.

Naturally these repeated reverses put Raja Man Singh in a very difficult position. The story goes that he found himself compelled to start enquiring about the reasons of it all. He was informed that the goddess Śilādevī was installed in Pratāpāditya's palace, and that it was with her grace that he overcame all his enemies with ease.

• Thereupon Raja Man Singh started invoking the aid of Śilādevī by performing homas, sacrifices etc. At about this time, Pratāpāditya incurred the goddess's displeasure, and she wanted to leave her quondam favourite. It is said that one morning the goddess entered the royal assembly hall, assuming the shape and form of the king's daughter who was then in the full bloom of youth. The assembly was then in session, and the king, under the impression that it was really his daughter, got very much annoyed and ordered her to get out of the palace. And this the goddess forthwith did, with the result that Pratāpāditya lost and Man Singh gained the grace of the goddess, who, however, stipulated with the Rajput that he must offer her a 'bali' (sacrifice) every day.

Man Singh thereafter proved victorious over Pratāpāditya and took the sacred image of Śilādevī with him to Amber, the then capital of his State. With Śilādevī went to Amber her 'purohita' or worshipper, Ratnagarbha Sārvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya, a Pāścātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇa.

Ratnagarbha had seven daughters whom he married to husbands of his class brought from far-away Bengal. Two of them were married to two brothers, Rājendra Chakravartī and Rāmṇārāin Chakravartī. Rājendra had a son Śāntendra, also known as Santosarāma. Śāntendra's son was Vidyādhara, who,



on the death of his father, received an order from Raja Jai Singh ( who was then on the throne of Amber ) confirming him in possession of his paternal properties ( A. C. 1715 ).

There is a story of the boyhood of Vidyādhara which shows the future town-planner. Raja Jai Singh's Dewan at that time was Kishanrām, the maternal uncle of Vidyādhara. The Raja was inspecting a palace of his under construction at Amber. Not seeing any staircase to the roof, the Raja asked the reason for it, and was told that it was not possible. The boy Vidyādhara who was present there told his uncle that if he was given five seers of wax, he would be able to say if the construction of a staircase to the roof was possible. Vidyādhara was given the wax as desired, and with it he constructed a small model of the palace with a winding staircase opening on the roof. When the model was shown to the Raja he could not see how the staircase had been put in. Thereupon Vidyādhara poured water into the opening on the roof, and the water came streaming down and out on the ground-floor. Obviously the Raja was very much impressed, and, so much so, that, on the death of Kishanrām, Vidyādhara ( then a young man ) was appointed Dewan.

Vidyādhara was a diplomat of extraordinary ability. It is related that once Raja Abhoy Singh of Jodhpur attacked Bikaner. The Bikaner Raja appealed to Raja Jai Singh for help, and, though the other ministers of Jai Singh were against opposing Abhoy Singh, Vidyādhara's advice was that it was the prime duty of the king to succor the helpless who had appealed to him for help. Vigorous preparations for war were accordingly made, and Abhoy Singh had to cry halt to his activities against Bikaner.

It was during his dewanship that the holy image of Govindji and his attendant priests and Brahmans were brought from Brindaban to Jaipur. And it was due to him that the royal seal ceased to be inscribed in Persian. In fact the last seal of the State so inscribed was the one affixed to the royal order by which Vidyādhara, in Samvat 1772 ( A. C. 1715 ), was confirmed in possession of his paternal properties. Subsequent to this, Vidyādhara's influence led the royal seal to be inscribed in Hindi.

Raja Jai Singh left two sons, Īsvari Singh by one Rani, and Mādhava Singh by another who was the daughter of Maharana Amar Singh of Udaipur. According to the terms of a treaty between Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur, Maharana Amar Singh of Udaipur and Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, Mādhava Singh, though younger, should have succeeded Jai Singh as Raja. But under Jai Singh's directions, Īsvari Singh ascended the throne in A. C. 1743, Madhava Singh being given only four pergunnahs out of the kingdom. With these four pergunnahs and a fifth granted to him by his maternal uncle, Mādhava Singh set up a principality and founded the city of Sawai Madhopur as its capital.

Shortly after the accession of Īsvari Singh, Mādhava Singh was incited by Raja Jagat Singh of Udaipur to drive out Īsvari Singh and occupy Jaipur. They accordingly attacked Jaipur, but, under the able direction of Vidyādhara ( who had continued as Dewan ), the combined forces of Madhav Singh and Jagat Singh were defeated. But soon after this, Vidyādhara's age led him to resign his office of Dewan and he was succeeded in that office by one Hargovind Natani. This man proved to be faithless and thoroughly unscrupulous.

After their defeat as abovestated, Mādhava Singh and Jagat Singh acquired a new confederate in Malhar Rao Holkar and redoubled their efforts and succeeded in buying over Hargovind. This man, by his machinations, induced Īsvari Singh to give the poison cup to his brave and faithful General, Keshavdas. With this General removed and Hargovind in their pay, the enemies of Īsvari Singh had practically a walk-over. Īsvari Singh realised the treachery of Hargovind too late, only after his enemies had arrived within a mile of Jaipur, and, then, to escape humiliation, poisoned himself.

In dire straits, Īsvari Singh's Ranis sent post haste for Vidyādhara, and he was, without delay, taken into the inner apartments of the palace. Realising the extreme delicacy of the situation, Vidyādhara advised keeping the Raja's death a secret and took immediate charge of the affairs of the State. And the first thing that he did was to put under restraint the treacherous Hargovind. Then he started negotiations with Mādhava Singh and his con-

federates. In the end he succeeded in securing the peaceful withdrawal of Raja Jagat Singh and his army. But Vidyādhara had to fight Malhar Rao and ultimately succeeded in driving away Malhar Rao and his army.

As was inevitable, Mādhava Singh got possession of the State. This was in A. C. 1752. His first act was releasing Hargovind from confinement, and the next, asking Vidyādhara to assume the office of Dewan. Vidyādhara, however, realising that his enemy, Hargovind, was now in the ascendant, declined to accept the office of Dewan. Mādhava Singh was already ill-disposed towards Vidyādhara, and his refusal to serve as Dewan positively incensed the Raja. Thoroughly vindictive, the Raja ordered Vidyādhara to pay the dues of certain State servants which were six months in arrears. Vidyādhara was in a fix. Not being in office, he had neither jaigir nor cash. But those State servants came to his help and declared that they had received their dues from Vidyādhara, though, as a matter of fact, they had not received a pie from him.

Chagrined that Vidyādhara had escaped, the Raja ordered him to deposit three lakhs of rupees in the State treasury. Vidyādhara pleaded poverty, saying that he had never committed theft nor taken bribes. The Raja ordered him to beg. On this, Vidyādhara prayed for a patta to enable him to beg. The patta was granted, and, armed with it, Vidyādhara begged and received from Thakur Kushal Singh of Jhalai the desired sum of three lakhs, and he at once deposited this sum in the State treasury. Baffled again, the Raja recalled this patta and ordered confiscation of Vidyādhara's houses in Amber and Jaipur and of a garden of his at the Ghat hills. The only house that he was allowed to retain was a small half-finished one, and in this he and his family took shelter. His descendants were living in this house in A. C. 1904-5.

Another small property, yielding a small income, he was allowed to retain. With this income, supplemented by the salary received by his eldest son, Murlidhar, and the income of a village granted to his three sons by Īśvarī Singh, Vidyādhara passed the evening of his chequered life, dying on Āśvina śukla śaṣṭhī, Sāmvat 1808.

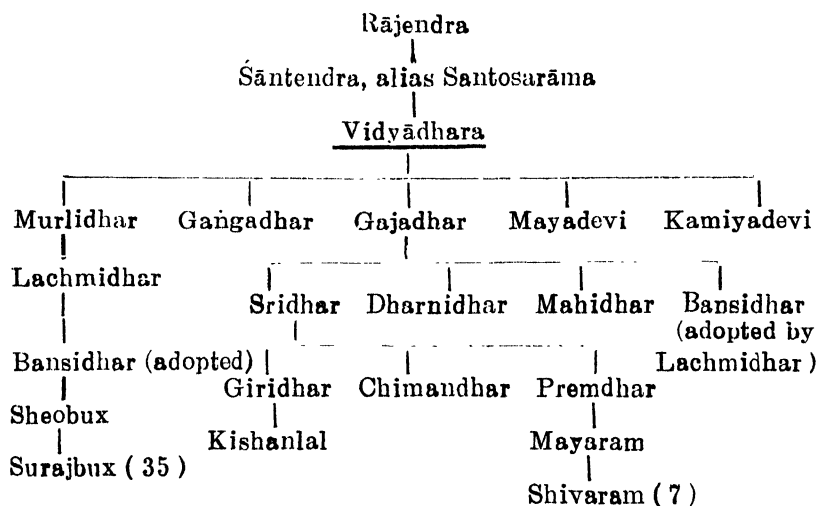
He served Raja Jai Singh and his son, Raja Īśvarī Singh, and the latter's Ranis with conspicuous faithfulness and ability, but his claim to recognition is based on other grounds also. When Raja Jai Singh decided to remove the capital from Amber, Vidyādhara it was who planned the new capital, Jaipur, and on a novel plan, that of a chequer,—a set of streets parallel to one another, and then another set, also parallel to one another, but cutting the former set at right angles. The idea seems to have been original with Vidyādhara.

Tod in his "Rājasthāna" (S. K. Lahiri & Co's reprint), p. 108, mentions "the famous Vidyādhara, the chief civil minister of the State", and says in a footnote on that page—"Vidyādhara was a Brahmin of Bengal, a scholar and a man of science. The plan of the modern city of Amber, named Jeypur was his: a city as regular as Darmstadt. He was also the joint compiler of the celebrated genealogical tables which appear in the first volume of this work".

At p. 344, again, Tod says—"Jeipur is the only city in India built upon a regular plan, with streets bisecting each other at right angles. The merit of the design and execution is assigned to Vidyādhara, a native of Bengal, one of the most eminent coadjutors of the prince in all his scientific pursuits, both astronomical and historical".

In connection with Jai Singh, at p. 353, Tod again mentions "Vidyādhara, one of his chief coadjutors in his astronomical pursuits and whose genius planned the city of Jaipur".

## GENEALOGICAL TREE OF VIDYĀDHARA



This was the position in 1311 B. S. ( 1904-5 A. C. )

*N. B.*—This paper is based on an article “ Vidyādhara, ” by Babu Meghnath Bhattacharya ( Jaipur ) which was published, together with the accompanying picture of Vidyādhara and his eldest son, Murlidhar, in Vol. XI, ( 1311 B. S. : A. C. 1904-5 ) of the ‘ Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā ’ ( the organ of the ‘ Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat ’ of Calcutta. )

Babu Meghnath stated in his article that the only two surviving descendants of Vidyādhara at that time were Surajbux ( 35 ) and Sivaram ( 7 ), and that the picture above referred to was reproduced from a photograph of a painting in the possession of Surajbux.

KING MAKERS OR RĀJAKARTĀRAḤ  
IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

MISS P. C. DHARMA

The role of king makers or Rājakartārah in Ancient Hindu administration is a subject that calls, for an interesting line of investigation. That the 'king makers' or Rājakartārah formed an integral part of the ancient Hindu political machinery is reflected in the literary writings of the period. The modern critic (with a definitely western bias) will sound a note of warning against modern political interpretation of those ancient Sanskrit words, and dismiss the whole conception as being far fetched. However adamant the modern mind might be to the acceptance of such analogies, and equation of ancient political terms with modern phraseology, yet the fact that the ancient Hindus had evolved political institutions of their own has to be admitted.

The institution of 'king makers' or Rājakartārah is a special feature of the ancient administrative machinery. 'King makers' or Rājakartārah The term Rājakartārah, literally meant 'king makers', and is generally used in the plural and refers to a body of officials having definite functions, and playing an important part in the election of kings. No where in the history of Europe or England do we come across a recognised permanent body of ministers or officials known as 'king makers'. We meet with the expression 'king maker' only in English history during the 'Wars of the Roses'. It was applied to the Earl of Warwick, a powerful and overbearing baron, who carved out a position for himself by the strength of his sword. The term 'king maker' in English history is a misnomer, for Warwick had neither the authority nor the right to raise or depose kings. This is only an example of arrogation of powers, like the East India Company in later times which made and unmade nawabs in India. Occasionally a strong man may rise and defy the authority of the reigning king and play

the role of king makers but such an action was not warranted by any legal status. The importance of the Rājakartāraḥ can well be recognised if we remember that the kings in ancient India had to get the sanction of king makers to their succession before the formal consecration. Kingship was both elective and hereditary. Heredity alone did not entitle a person to be crowned as king. The king in the vedic age was elected by the people, and had to accept his office from the people and king makers.

References to king makers are met with in the Atharvaveda ( III-5-7 ), and the Brāhmanas ( Ait VIII-17-5 ) ( Śat III-4-17; and XIII. 2. 2. 18 ). They are described as those who 'not themselves kings aided in the consecration of kings'. A successor to a king was not appointed till the consent of the 'Purohita or Chief Minister' was given. He was usually a distinguished and learned ṛṣi — the moral, political and spiritual guide of the ruling house or clan. He was the real king maker, and we may take it for granted that no successor to a deceased king was appointed without the Purohita's knowledge or approval. The Purohita suggested the name of a successor to the king,<sup>1</sup> probably in consultation with the other members of the royal clan and court. His nominee might have either presented himself or been invited by the people as their king. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the 'king makers' are made to proclaim the king formally to the people.

The Atharvaveda while mentioning the Rājakṛt as 'a part of the folk round the king' gives the following list of 'king makers.' (1) The Sūta ( charioteer ). ( 2 ) The Rathakāra or chariot maker ( evidently war chariot maker ). ( 3 ) Karmāra ( artisan representing artisan or industrial interests ). ( 4 ) Grāmaṇī ( village headman representing rural interests ). ( 5 ) Rāja ( consisting of nobles, king's kinsmen ) whose support of the election was thought very neces-

<sup>1</sup> It may be inferred that kingship was hereditary too in R̥gvedic times as we find son succeeding the father. According to Zimmer, " Monarchy was elective, but it was not clear whether the selection of the people was between members of the royal family only or extended to members of all the noble classes.

sary as revealed in several passages. In I-9-3 and 4 there are prayers for the king's supremacy over his kinsmen (Sajāta) and and in I-19-3 they are referred to as a menace to his authority. The kinsmen designated as Rāja<sup>1</sup> had always to be reckoned with and their friendship sought after.

The king makers grew in numbers in later texts. The Taittiriya Samhita, Tattiriya Brāhmaṇa mentions twelve :—

(1) Brāhmaṇa (Purohita) (2) Rājanya (nobles) (3) Mahiṣī (chief queen) (4) Vāvāta (favourite wife) (5) Parivṛkti' (discarded wife) (6) Sūta (charioteer) (7) Senāni (commander in Chief of the army) (8) Grāmaṇi<sup>2</sup> (village headman) (9) Khattri (chamberlain) (10) Saṁgrahitri (treasurer) (11) Bhāgadugha (collector of taxes) (12) Akṣvāpa (Superintendent of dicing). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa included gonikartāna (hunter) and the pālāgala (the courier) while the Maitrāyaṇi Samhita (II-6-5) IV-3-8 adds the Takṣa (carpenter), the Ra'hkāra called the Rājanya Rāja and the grāmaṇi or Vaiśya grāmaṇi. The Pāṇca-vimśa Brāhmaṇa (19-1-4) however gives an older and shorter list of what are called vīras or heroes as forming the king's entourage comprising of brother, son, Purohita, Mahiṣī, Sūta, grāmaṇi, Khattri and Saṁgrahitri. According to Sāyana's commentary on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the king's father was also one of the king makers. The doubt arises whether the ceremony in which the father took part was that of the installation of the crown prince. The inclusion of the king's father is

<sup>2</sup> An analogy may be drawn with reference to this term to the Rājānaḥ in the Rāmāyaṇa who were speedily summoned by Daśaratha for discussing the coronation of Rāma in the Sabhā. Mention is made of the Rājānaḥ again as waiting with the brahmins and others at the palace for the coronation ceremony of Rāma as Yuvarāja II-14-41. It was necessary for the king to get the support of the Rājānaḥ among others for his election.

<sup>3</sup> "The grāmaṇi proper or par excellence was one of the king's entourage and was probably regarded as representing interests in the ministry, just as the industrial interests were represented by the karmāra, the military by the senāni, the Rathakāra and Sūta; and finance by the Saṁgrahitri and Bhāgadugha. The akṣvāpa may also be taken as the officer who superintends the gambling tolls of the state and collects the revenue (due therefrom) as was regularly done later (see Vedic Index II-Page 200 footnote 4).



borne out by the vedic texts themselves. The presence of the father in any installation ceremony cannot of itself raise the presumption that the son performing the ceremony must needs be a crown prince, for the father might not at all have been a king, and possessing therefore no kingdom to which he could choose his son and successor, or he might be retiring from his regal position, making his son a full fledged king by the ceremony.

The deference paid to these 'king makers' is seen in the ritual of the Rājasūya called 'Ratnahavis' when offerings were made by the king on successive days in the houses of persons termed 'Ratnins' including among others those to whom the title of Rājākṛt or 'king maker' was applied. The texts agree in making a king (a consecrated Ksatriya) alone eligible to celebrate the Rājasūya. The Rājasūya, strictly speaking is not a single ceremonial but a series of rituals several of which had independent existence. The offerings made had a special political significance. In worshipping the Ratnins he does honour to them both as officers of the state and as representatives of society. Their approval was solicited before his election to the kingly office and their allegiance was an object of special attention with him. They were the high functionaries of the state and as Rājākartārah they wielded immense power and prestige. In the selection of the Ratnins, the principle of class and caste or functional representation seems to have operated.

There was an order of precedence among the Ratnins. It was revealed in the manner in which the king elect visited their homes for Ratnahavis or offering of jewels. The first to be honoured with the visit was the senāni or commander in chief followed by the Purohita or Brāhmaṇa and others. The Rājanya, Goni-kartāna and Akṣvāpa were offered jewels at the king's own place and not at their houses. (Another order of precedence is also indicated in a Rājasūya Ceremony at which the sacrificial sword which is made over to the king is passed on by him first to his brother, then to the Sūta, Sthapati, grāmaṇi and Sajāti (Royal kinsmen) (Śat Brah : V-4-4, 15 ).

The constitutional importance of the ceremony is indicated in the set formula to be uttered by the king, 'for it is for him that he is thereby consecrated and him he makes his faithful followers'. The king accepted his royal authority from the 'king makers' and his people. He received from the assembled people and the 'king makers', ( who according to later authorities were high functionaries or ministers ), a symbolic Maṇi or armlet after ascending the throne. These Ratnins were regarded as rulers amongst whom the king was the chief ruler. They existed independently of the king and their worship before the coronation indicates the enormous power wielded by them. Though in later times the ceremony of worship may have been no more than a mere formality observed during inauguration, yet in its inception in remoter periods, it was probably associated with the respect paid to the people whose interests were represented by the 'Ratnins' who were either popular or communal officers, chosen on an occupational basis. They might have been reduced to mere ceremonial figures in subsequent times by the growth of royal power but even in the epic and later times we do find evidences of their importance.

The king makers continued to play an important part even when the system of election finally gave place to hereditary kingship. By the time probably of the 'king makers' in later periods later vedic literature, and certainly of the 'Rāmāyaṇa' and 'Mahābhārata' period, the succession of the eldest son of the last ruler had become the general rule. But the memory of elective kingship still lingered. The high ministers were called Rājakartārah in the Rāmāyaṇa. They were the advisory part of the cabinet — the counsellors. The brahmin sages constituted the Rājakartārah. They have been referred as Dvijāh. The necessary arrangements for the election of the king were made by the Rājakartārah. These together with the cabinet ministers and chief Purohita discussed the situation arising out of the king's death. Vasiṣṭha speedily summoned Bharata and asked him to take charge of the kingdom ( समेत्य राजकर्तारो भरतं वाक्यमब्रुवन् ).

When the person who claimed the crown by hereditary succession appeared to be unsuitable for the king, or 'King makers' -their powers- in later periods was disqualified by reason of any special defect, another member of the royal family was placed on the throne by the 'king makers'. Devāpi for example being affected with skin disease, declined the sovereignty and Śantanu was appointed king. So also according to the Mahābhārata Dhṛtārāṣṭra being blind was passed over in favour of his younger brother Pāṇḍu. Again in troublous times it was found necessary to appoint a strong man in preference to a weak or a minor claimant, although the latter might have the best right according to the hereditary principle.

In cases of disputed succession the voice of the 'king makers' was prominent as in the case of Yudhiṣṭhira who was preferred to Duryodhana (वयं पाण्डुवञ्च ज्येष्ठं अभिषिञ्चामः). In the Bhāgavata we find Vena being deposed for bad conduct by the Dvijāḥ who constituted a part of the council of ministers.

This council which consisted of Rājakartāraḥ retained its prestige and responsibility even in the Buddhist period. The Pāli Sūtras use the word 'king makers' as a synonym for ministers who were saddled with the responsibility of electing a king. The formal offer of sovereignty by 'king makers' was long held to be essential.

After the treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana by the king of Pundra, the prime minister Bhaṇḍi, with the concurrence of the council of ministers and the approval of the people, placed Harṣavardhana on the throne. The ministers were the 'king makers' and possessed great powers in normal times, but during the minority of the king or when the king happened to be weak, their powers were very great. When the throne fell vacant, they appointed a new king. From Bāṇa the Sanskrit poet and Hieun Tsang the chinese traveller we learn how powerful and important was the prime minister, for he was entrusted with the responsibility of nominating a king. Bhaṇḍi calling a meeting of the ministers said, "the destiny of the nation is fixed to-day. Because he (Harṣa) is attached to the family, the people will trust in him. Let each one give his opinion on the matter'.

Then he exhorted Harsa to accept the sovereignty saying, "reign thou, with glory over the lands".

The 'king makers' or Rājakartārah have had a long and interesting history. They have played a very important part in the constitutional history of India and had formed an inseparable link in the political machinery. Whatever might have been their designations in the different periods of history like Ratnins in Vedic times, Dvijāh in the Rāmāyaṇa days and so on, there seems to have been some continuity in the nature of the functions they performed. Their prestige might have waned with the establishment of republics in the Buddhist period, but the occasional references in the Buddhist literary works and in the literature of the later Hindu period point to the conclusion that these king makers survived even after the republican period. These Rājakartārah enjoyed a long lease of life and their extinction probably took place after the advent of foreigners in India (who were quite alien to Hindu culture and thought) in the later Hindu age.

# HISTORY OF THE RAṄGAVALLI ( RĀṄGOLĪ ) ART

— BETWEEN C. A. D. 50 AND 1900

By

P. K. GODE

I propose in this paper to record some references to the *art of decorating floors with coloured powders* on festive occasions as current in some parts of India.<sup>1</sup> This art is practised by the women-folk and occasionally in some Hindu temples its exhibitions are held on the occasion of a festival. It is necessary to trace the history of this popular art on the strength of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources with a view to giving it a proper historical perspective. In the Mahārāṣṭra this art is known by the term “रांगोळी” (rāṅgolī). Accordingly in the Marathi Dictionary called the *Śabdakośa* by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve we get the following entry about it:—

Page 2604 — “रांगोळी, रांगवळी” = Powder of rice or other materials prepared for the purpose of drawing various designs before deities on the occasions of feasts etc.”

Usage:—“तिआ रांगवळी सुतीं राणिआ । चक्रवर्तीचिआं । ”

—शिशुपालवध,<sup>2</sup> ५९१

— “रांगोळी करणें” = To kill, to destroy completely etc.

Usage:—“ठेंचून करी रांगोळी ”

— संग्राम ११

<sup>1</sup> See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII (Dharwar), Bombay, 1884.— Appendix D (by Rao Bahadur Tirmalrav Venkatesh) on *Quartz-Powder* ( *Rāṅgolī* ) — Pages 821-822— “ *Rāṅgolī*, the word used for the quartz lines and pictures which prudent housewives sprinkle in front of their house-doors is said to mean the brilliant line from the Sanskrit *raṅ* colour and *vali*, a row. The orthodox explanation of the sprinkling of these lines and figures, as well as of white-washing, cow-dunging and tying strings of mango leaves in houses, is that it is for beauty, because God dwells in the house.

<sup>2</sup> This old Marathi poem *Śiṣupālavadha* was composed by Bhānubhaṭ or Bhāskarabhaṭ Borikar ( C. A. D. 1278 — See p. 585 of the *महर्षिभुषीन चरित्रकोश* by Chitrao Shastri, Poona, 1937 ).

*Etymology* :— [ Sanskrit रंज् = to dye, रंगवल्ली, रंग + अञ्ज ].

— “ रंगोळी होणे ” = to be completely destroyed

—मोरोपंत<sup>1</sup> —विराटपर्व ४.३३<sup>२</sup>

— “ रंगोळे ”<sup>३</sup> = A perforated cylinder filled with रंगोळी used for drawing floor decorations by moving it over the floor.

As the term “ रंगवल्ली ” is used in the *Mahānubhāva* poem *Śūṣupālavadha* of C. A. D. 1273 we are warranted in presuming that this art of drawing *rāṅgoḷi* pictures has been current in Mahārāṣṭra clearly from about A. D. 1200.

The *Śabdakoṣa* ( p. 2579 ) records another term for this art viz. “ रंगमाळा ” and explains it as “ रंगोळीची चित्रे ” ( *rāṅgoḷi* decorations ) or “ रंगोळी ” ( powder ). The *usage* of “ रंगमाळा ” as given by the *Śabdakoṣa* is as follows :—

“ प्रवर्तानि गृहकर्माणि रंगमाळा घालं पाहती ”

—भूपाळी घनश्यामाची २०.२ ”

As the above *usage* is not very old I record below a *usage* of the term “ रंगमाळिका ” in the *Mahānubhāva* Marathi work लीळा-चरित्र ( C. A. D. 1250 ) भाग ३, प्रवाध खंड २, ed. by H. N. Nene, Nagpur, 1937 :—

Page 68 — “ मग तेही सडासंमार्जनः चौक रंगमाळिका भरवीलीयाः

गुढी उभविलीः उपहाराची आइति. करविलीः आपण घोडे घेऊनि साउमे आलेः मार्गी भेट जाली<sup>३</sup> ”

Page 37 — “ मग वीळीचां वेळीं ब्राह्मणाच्चेयां घरां बीजें केलेंः

ब्राह्मणें सडासंमार्जन केलेंः चौक रंगमाळिका भरिलीयाः<sup>४</sup> ”

<sup>1</sup> The Marathi poet Moropant flourished between A. D. 1729-1794 ( See page 660 of म. च. केश ).

<sup>२</sup> We must see at what time the use of such mechanical devices for drawing *rāṅgoḷi* pictures on the floor came into vogue.

<sup>३</sup> In this passage we get a description of the manner in which Gosāvi • ( Cakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva Sect ) was received by a devotee. The ground in front of the house was sprinkled over with water ( mixed with cow-dung ). This ground was then decorated with *rāṅgoḷi* drawings etc.

<sup>४</sup> This is a description of the manner in which a Brahmin received Cakradhara. In this description also we find ( 1 ) सडा संमार्जन ( sprinkling of water mixed with cow-dung on the ground ) and ( 2 ) रंगमाळिका ( the drawings of *rāṅgoḷi* on the ground so prepared ). These practices are current even today in Mahārāṣṭra on the occasions of feasts and festivals.

Saint Rāmdās (A. D. 1608-1682) refers to “रंगमाळा” as follows :—

“ तुलसीवने वृंदावने । सुंदर सडे संभार्जने । ओटे रंगमाळा  
आसने । ठाई ठाई ॥ २ ॥ ’

— मानसपूजा, *Prakaraṇa 1* ( p. 339 of रामदास-समग्र ग्रंथ, Poona, 1906 ).

We have so far recorded the following datable usages from the Marathi literature about *Rāṅgolī* :—

C. A. D. 1273 — “ रंगवळी. ”

C. A. D. 1250 — “ रंगमाळी(ळी)का. ”

C. A. D. 1650 — “ रंगमाळा. ”

C. A. D. 1750 — “ रंगोळी. ”

I shall now record the evidence of Sanskrit texts about *rāṅgolī* decorations :—

In the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* ( MS No. 43 of 1925-26 at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona ) which appears to have been composed between A. D. 1400 and 1600 we find the following references to रङ्गवल्ली or *rāṅgolī* :—

Page 391 — *Paṭala 110*— “ दुःस्वप्नशान्तिस्वरूपनिरूपण ” — Description of an altar ( वेदि ).

—“ सुशिल्पिना कारयित्वा वेदिं कुण्डादिकं प्रिये ।  
लेपयित्वा गोमयेन रङ्गवत्या समन्ततः ॥ ”

( the ground near the altar was smeared with cow-dung and *rāṅgolī* decorations were drawn on it ).

Page 377 — *Paṭala 108*— “ नानावशक्नुनशान्तिविधानम् ” — Description of वेदि.

—“ गोमयेन विलिप्योर्वी रंगवल्लीं विधाय तु ”

Page 316 — *Paṭala 92*— “ नृपपट्टाभिषेकाङ्गमण्डप ” — Coronation pavilion decorated with ( drawings with ) powders of five colours on the ground smeared with water mixed with cow-dung.

—“ कारयित्वा गोमयेन लेपयित्वा स वारिणा ।  
पंचवर्णरजोभिस्तं अलंकृत्य तु मण्डपम् ॥ ”

Page 292 — Paṭala 85 — “ नृपाभिषेककर्तव्यमण्डपवेदिका ” — Altar in the coronation pavilion.

—“ एवं कुंडं वेदिकां च कारयित्वा सुशिल्पिभिः ।

लेपायित्वा गोमयेन रजोभिः पञ्चवर्णकैः ॥

अलंकृत्य पुरोधास्तदाभिषेचनिकन्दिनम् । ”

( Powders of five colours to be used for decorating the ground besmeared with cow-dung ).

Page 215 — Paṭala 66 — “ कुमारीपूजामन्त्रस्वरूपकथनम् ” — This Paṭala specifies the forehead-marks ( तिलकानि ) and seats ( आसनानि ) for the worship of unmarried girls of different castes ( during the Navarātri festival ).

Tilakas :—

( 1 ) ब्राह्मणी — चतुरस्रतिलक of चन्दन

( 2 ) क्षत्रिया — अर्धचन्द्रतिलक of कुङ्कुम

( 3 ) वैश्या — ऊर्ध्वतिलक of चन्दन and अगुरु

( 4 ) शूद्रा — वर्तुल तिलक of कस्तूरी and चन्दन

( 5 ) अन्यजा — वेदिमध्यतिलक of रक्तचन्दन

Āsanas :— Powdered rice is to be used for marking on the ground different seats for different girls. These āsanas are of different patterns :—

( 1 ) अष्टपत्र — Having eight petals.

( 2 ) षडश्र — Hexangular.

( 3 ) त्रिकोण — Triangular.

( 4 ) चतुर्दल — Having four petals.

( 5 ) चतुरश्र — Quadrangular.

( 6 ) स्वस्तिकांक — Of the form of a Svastika.

मंडलानि — Diagrams.

—“ अष्टपत्रं षडश्रं च त्रिकोणं च चतुर्दलम् ।

चतुरश्रं स्वस्तिकांकं क्रमशो मण्डलानि वै ॥

कल्पयेदासनार्थं वै शालितण्डुलचूर्णतः । ”



Page 157 — *Paṭala* 51—“ अनन्तव्रतस्वरूपकथनम् ”

--“ मासि भाद्रपदे शुक्लचतुर्दश्यां गृहांगणे ।  
कारयित्वा पुष्पमयं मण्डपं सुमनोहरम् ॥  
तदन्तरे सरोजाक्षि गोमयेन सवारिणा ।  
संलिप्य सर्वतोभद्रं रंगवल्या विलिख्य तु ॥ ”

Page 60 — *Paṭala* 17 — “ महाशान्ति—अङ्ग ग्रहयज्ञ स्वरूपकथनम् ”

--“ वेद्यां पश्चिमदिग्भागे गोमयेन सवारिणा ।  
संलिप्य समलंकृत्य रंगवल्या समन्ततः ॥ ”

Page 55 — *Paṭala* 16 — “ महाशान्त्यङ्गवास्तुहोमस्वरूपकथनम् ”

--“ राज्ञा संकल्पित महाशान्त्यङ्गं वास्तुपूजनम् ।  
करिष्य इति संकल्प्य वेद्यां दक्षिणभागतः ॥  
गोमये नानुलिप्योर्वा रंगवल्लीं निधाय च । ”

Page 25 — *Paṭala* 7 — “ साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमन्त्रहोमस्वरूपकथनम् ”

--“ तत्कुंडं वेदिकां चैव गोमये नानुलिप्य वै ।  
रंगमाह्यादिभिः सम्यगलंकृत्याथ मंत्रवित् ॥ ”

The references to रंगवल्ली recorded above reveal some important aspects of this practice viz. —

( 1 ) रंगवल्ली is always preceded by गोमयानुलेप<sup>1</sup> on the ground on which it is drawn.

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 7 of *Ācūrendu* of Tryambaka Māṭe of Śaṇḍilyagotra ( Ānanda-śrama Sans. Series, Poona, 1909 ) — Here this author ( A. D. 1838 ) quotes the following lines about the importance of गोमयानुलेपन from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* :—

“ मार्कण्डेयपुराणे—प्रातःकाले स्त्रिया कार्यं गोमयेनानुलेपनम् ।

अरुतस्वस्तिकां या तु क्रामेल्लिप्तां च मेदिनीम् ॥  
तस्यास्त्रीणि विनश्यान्तं वित्तमायुर्यशस्तथा । ”

In these lines we are told that after the ground is smeared with cow-dung it is absolutely necessary to draw on it the *Svastika* mark every morning. In the *Rāṅgavalli* pictures also this mark is generally drawn on all sacred occasions.

On page 104 the *Ācūrendu* prescribes उपलेपन of a रण्डिल ( sacrificial ground ) :—

( continued on the next page )

( 2 ) The association of रंगवल्ली with वेदि or sacrificial altar i.e. for decorating the ground round this altar.

( 3 ) Use of रंगवल्ली for decorating the ground with powders of five colours ( पञ्चवर्णरजोभिः ) at the King's Coronation.

*Ācūrendu* ( A. D. 1888 ) of Tryambaka Māte ( A. S. S. Poona, 1907 ) refers to the use of शिलाचूर्ण for drawing *Svastika* and other marks <sup>1</sup> in temples :—

Page 175 -- “ पारिजाते— .... ..

शिलाचूर्णेन यो मर्त्यो देवतायतने नृप ।

करोति स्वस्तिकादीनि तेषां पुण्यं निशामय ॥

यावत्यः कणिका भूमौ क्षिप्ता रविकुलोद्भव ।

तावद्युगसहस्राणि हरिसालोक्यमश्नुते ॥ ”

The *Pārijāta* also refers to संमार्जन and उपलेपन with गोमय and other materials as follows :—

“ देवतायतने राजन् कृत्वा संमार्जनं नरः ।

यत्कलं समवाप्नोति तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ॥

यावत्यः पांसुकणिकाः सम्यक्संमार्जिता नृप ।

तावद्युगसहस्राणि विष्णुलोके महीयते ॥

( continued from the previous page )

“ एवं स्थंडिलं कृत्वोपलेपनादि कुर्यात् । तदुक्तं गृह्ये उपलिप्यो-  
ल्लिख्य षड्लेखा उदगायतां etc. ” । उपलेपने कारणमुक्तं स्मृतिरत्नाकरे  
पुराणे—

“ सर्वत्र वसुधा मेभ्या सशैलवनकानना ।

अथ विष्णुपदाक्रान्तोपलेपनमिदं कुतः ॥

पुरा शक्रो हि वज्रेण वृत्रं जघ्ने महासुरम् ।

तन्मेदसा हि निर्लिप्ता तदर्यमुपलेपनम् ॥ ”

Page 105 — “ आयतनेऽप्युपलेपनादिविधिमाह परशुरामः etc. ”

<sup>1</sup> *Aparārka* ( C. A. D. 1100 ) on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* ( Ānandāśrama, Poona, Vol. I, 1903, p. 147 (गृहस्यधर्मप्रकरण) quotes the following lines from *Baudhāyana* which refer to उपलेपन of the ground and the drawing of diagrams on it :—

“ बौधायनः— उपलिप्ते समे स्थाने शुचौ श्लक्ष्णसमन्विते ।

चतुरश्रं त्रिकोणं तु वर्तुलं चार्धचन्द्रकम् ॥

कर्तव्यमानुष्येण बाह्यादिषु मण्डलम् । ”

मृदा धातुविकरैर्वा वर्णकैर्गोमयेन वा ।  
उपलेपनकृयस्तु नरो वैमानिको भवेत् ॥

(शिलाचूर्ण referred to above may mean मनःशिलाचूर्ण i.e. red arsenic powder. It may also mean "stone-powder". At present rūṅgoli powder is prepared from white stone pebbles or quartz).

In the *Varāṅgacarita* (7th cent A. D.) of Jaṭāsimhanandi (edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1938) we get a reference to the use of different powders, flowers, and rice for decorating the ground with different designs on the occasion of a *baḷi* at night (रात्रिबली) as will be seen from the following verse 15 of canto XXIII (p. 221):—

“चूर्णैश्च पुष्पैरपि तण्डुलैश्च दशार्धवर्णैर्बालिकर्मयोगैः ।  
नानाकृतींस्तत्र बलीन्विधिज्ञा भूमिप्रदेशे रचयांबभूवुः ॥१५॥”

(दशार्धवर्णैः = Of five colours). The use of powders of five colours mentioned in the above verse may be compared to the use of such powders (पञ्चवर्णरजोभिः) for decorating the grounds at the king's coronation mentioned in the *Ākūśabhairavakalpa* (*Paṭala* 92).

Vāḍibhasimha in his *Gadyacintāmaṇi* (ed. by T. S. K. Sastri and S. S. Sastri, Madras, 1902) we find a reference to “मङ्गलचूर्ण रेखा” (drawings with some red powder) on the ground of a dining pavilion (भोजनस्थानमण्डप) as follows:—

Page 38—“हर्म्यमविशत् । तत्र च प्रसार्यमाणसौवर्णामत्रविदम्बित-  
मित्रमण्डले, त्वरमाणपरिजनवनिताकरप्रमृज्यमानमणिचषचशुक्ति-  
संचये, संसृच्छदतुच्छपाटलपरिमलसुरभिपानीयभरिततपनीयशुक्लारके,  
लिख्यमानमङ्गलचूर्णरेखानिवेद्यमानभोजनभुवि, समुद्धाटितपञ्च-  
रकवाटविनिर्गतक्रीडाशुकसारिकाह्वयमानपौरोगवे, प्रवेश्यमानबुभु-  
क्षितजने, प्रदीयमानपाङ्क्तिभोजनामत्रकदलीपत्रे, प्रत्यग्रपाकजनित-  
सौरभ्यलुभ्यद्घ्राणे, समन्ततश्चलिततालवृन्तग्राहिणी चरणनूपुररणित-  
भरितावेशि, भोजनस्थानमण्डपे.....बालचन्द्रमसमायुष्मन्तम-  
पश्यत् ।”

In the above passage we get a very colourful picture of a royal dining pavilion, which can be compared with any dining pavilion of Indian princes of to-day. With the exception of gold dishes and cups referred to in the above passage the dining pavilions used at our common modern marriage and muñja ceremonies are exactly similar to that described so vividly by Vādībhasimha more than a thousand years ago. According to the Editors this author is *later than C. A. D. 650* as he imitates *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, the author of the *Kūdambārī* etc. He may be even later than Bhoja ( *C. A. D. 1050* )—( see pp. 4-5 of Intro. to *Gadyacintāmaṇi*. ) *Rāṅgolī* drawings are clearly referred to by Vādībhasimha as one of the features of the dining pavilion ( “ मङ्गलचूर्णरेखानिवेशमानमानभोजनशुचि ” ).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I may record here the use of *Rāṅgolī* as recorded on pages 821-822 of Vol. XXII ( Dharwar ) of the Bombay Gazetteer, 1884 ( Appendix D ) :—

“ The best *Rāṅgolī* is made by pounding white quartz into powder. Its colour is white and it may be used either while the Brāhmins are in a pure state after bathing, or when they have not bathed. In the absence of quartz-powder rice-flour may be used. In addition to the white lines dots or figures of yellow, red, black, green and blue powder are also occasionally used. The yellow powder is made from turmeric, the red is the ordinary *gulāl* of rice or *rāgi* flour dyed with red sanders, the green is from the ground dried leaves of the *Aeschynomene grandiflora*, the black charcoal, and the blue is indigo. Every day lines, dots and figures are drawn on the floors of all Brāhman houses, three, four or five straight lines, parallel to the walls of rooms and verandas. Cross lines, circles with dots in the centre and elaborate figures are also drawn. On great occasions elaborate tracery and figures of men, animals and trees are also drawn. On *Nāgar-chaut* or the Cobra's Fourth, that is the bright fourth of *Śrāvan* or August-September, Brāhmins, in addition to making the usual figures, draw and worship single, double and twisted forms of snakes sprinkled in quartz-powder. During the leading days of the *Divālī* feast the dark 14th and 15th of *Āsvin* or October-November and during the bright half of *Kārtik* or November-December, all Hindus set what they call the *Pandus* five cow-dung cones, two or three inches high and about the same round the foot, outside to the right and left of the thresh-hold, and on the top of the outer house-door. Round each cow-dung cone they draw double or treble white and red lines, set a flower of the *kumbal* ( K ), *cucurbita hispida* gourd on each of the cowdung cones and throw over all turmeric and red powder on the marriage-day of *Vishnu* and the *Tulsi* plant that is the evening of the bright twelfth of *Kārtik* or November-December, and when *Lakshmi*, the goddess of wealth comes in *Śrāvan* or August-September, besides the usual quartz figures, *gopad* or cow's foot-prints are sprinkled with *rāṅgolī* powder all along the ground from the outer thresh-hold of the house to the shrine which has been made ready for the god.

( continued on the next page )

Before proceeding further with references to *Raṅgavallī* in datable sources I may consider here the observations on the position of the *Raṅgavallī* pictures in the field of Indian art as made by the extant texts on this subject. In this connection I cannot do better than quoting below in extenso the remarks of my friend Dr. V. Raghavan from his article on "*Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting*" (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 899-911).—

Pages 905-906 — "The *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* (of King Someśvara — C. A. D. 1130) gives five varieties of pictures:— विद्ध, अविद्ध, भावचित्र, रसचित्र and धूलिचित्र. Of these the '*Bhāvacitra*' stands by itself and is of the greatest importance. It has been explained above that '*Bhāvacitra*' is the picture depicting emotion. The *Rasacitra* and *Dhūlicitra* go together.

The *Dhūlicitra* is the Tamil "*Kolam*" done with white flour on the floor and in front of our houses. In the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa*,

( continued from the previous page )

When feasts are given in the open air, in front of and on each side of the board on which each guest sits, lines and arches are drawn in quartz and red powder. On birth, marriage and other festive occasions and when entertainments are given, elaborate quartz-powder figures are traced. On occasions of deaths, funeral ceremonies, yearly mind-rites or mind-dinners, no quartz lines, dots or figures are drawn, except that at dinners in honour of saints a little quartz-powder is occasionally used. No special quartz-figures are drawn on no-moon or full-moon days. The cow-dunging of the ground and the drawing of fearful quartz-powder figures is an important part in most exorcisms.

The great tracers of quartz-powder figures forming them simply by letting the powder drop from between the thumb and fingers are Brāhman women. No Brāhman woman during her monthly sickness, for three months after childbirth, or when in mourning may draw quartz lines. Jains use Rāṅgolī like Brāhman and Marāthas use it on special occasions. Some, but not all Lingāyats draw a few lines every day in their houses. On moon-light nights and on great occasions Lingāyats draw long double lines of dots, alternately of lime and water and red earth and dine and play close by these lines. Lingāyats also draw one or two lines of quartz-powder along the edge of the grave before burying the body. Parsis, like Hindus, decorate their house fronts by stamping them with quartz-powder plates. Musalmans and Native converts to Christianity are the only persons who do not use quartz decorations. Formerly the traeries were all made by letting the powder slip between the thumb and fingers. Of late years tubes and plates with upturned edges pierced with designs have been filled with powder and either rolled or stamped over the place to be decorated."

Tamil girls vie with each other in the villages to draw the biggest and the most intricate "Kolams" in front of their houses and then decorate these "Kolams" at various points with pumpkin flowers. On more festive occasions, in the houses, temples and Tambalams (i.e. brass plates used in our houses) for *Nirājana*, these "Kolams" are done with various coloured powders. These *Citras* are naturally short lived. So it is that Śrī Kumāra (author of the *Śilparatna*) calls them "क्षणिक" ( *Kṣanika* ). Since these are drawn more especially on the floor, Nārada calls this variety of Citra as "भौम" i.e. of the floor. Śrī Kumāra describes them thus :—

“ एतान्यनलवर्णानि चूर्णयित्वा पृथक् पृथक् ।

( ए ) तैश्चूर्णैः स्थण्डिले रम्ये क्षणिकानि विलेपयेत् ॥

धूलीचित्रमिदं ख्यातं चित्रकारैः पुरातनैः । ”

— *Śilparatna*, XXXVI, *Ślokas*, 144, 145

*Rusacitra* (रसचित्र) is another variety of "Kolam." One must not be misled by the word *Rasa* in रसचित्र and take it with भावचित्र. The word रस here means द्रव ( *drava* ) or coloured solution. The *Abhilaṣitūrthacintāmaṇi* thus defines it :—

“ सद्रवैर्वर्णकैः लेख्यं रसचित्रं विचक्षणैः । ”

This kind of *Kolam* is also drawn in some Tamil houses. White flour-solution and red Kavi-solution are employed and are called in Tamil *Mavukkolam* and *Kavikkolam*. The former is drawn in wavy lines. Thus रसचित्र is also a kind of *Kolam*. While चूर्ण or powder is employed in धूलिचित्र, *drava* (द्रव) or solution is employed in रसचित्र. (The *Makara* and other coloured designs drawn on the cheeks and busts of damsels according to the *Kāvya*s belong also to this category of रसचित्र). Therefore it is held by Śrī Kumāra that like धूलिचित्र<sup>1</sup> and चित्र (i.e. Sculpture) etc. the रसचित्र also is not for the walls —

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 8 of Intro. to *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* ( Part III ) Trans. by Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta University Press, 1928 — “ From the *Śilparatna*.....we know that *Dhūlucitra*, Powder-painting familiar to Bengal ladies as *Alpona*, was applied as temporary coating of powdered colours on a beautiful piece of ground. ”

“ सुधाधवालिते भित्तो नैव कुर्यादिदं सुधीः ।

रसचित्रं तथा धूलिचित्रं चित्रमिति त्रिधा ॥ ”

—शिल्परत्न ( *Śloka 143* )

Thus Painting and half-visible reliefs, चित्राभास and अर्धचित्र are the two that are done on the walls. These facts are not taken into consideration by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. Consequently he connects ( vide p. 50 of Part I of *Ashutosh Mukerjee Comm. Volume* ) the वैणिक् of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* with the रसचित्र of Śrī Kumāra and says that both are identical. Surely रस also means emotion and emotion is associated with वीणा, from which is derived by him the वैणिक् type. But when one sees the clear definition of रसचित्र given by *Someśvara*, from whom Śrī Kumāra borrows his knowledge, one will rest assured of the fact that रसचित्र is another kind of *Kolam* related to the धूलिचित्र, the word रस here meaning *रस*. ”

“ Chapter 71 of *Nāradaśilpa* ( Adyar MS ) is devoted to the decoration of painting, चित्रालंकाररचनाविधिकथन. Pictures are not only for the joy of the gods and the presiding deities of the buildings, Vāstunāthas, but also for beauty according to *Uśinara*. Nārada gives a new kind of classification of pictures, not found in other works, and it is from the point of view of the places, where the pictures are drawn. Thus he says that pictures are of three kinds—( 1 ) of the floor, ( 2 ) of the wall and ( 3 ) of the top i.e. ceiling ( भौम, कुड्यक and ऊर्ध्वक ). These again are classified from another stand-point into two kinds, the permanent and temporary, शाश्वतक and तात्कालिक ). The latter is the भौम i. e. the picture of the floor; *Kolam*, the *Dhūlicitra* and *Rasacitra* of *Someśvara* belong to this class. Nārada says that this variety is drawn, in front of the house, on the door-step, on the pials and every where in the house on the floor. Birds, snakes, elephants, horses etc. can thus be drawn. These themes are still drawn<sup>1</sup> in our houses. ”

<sup>1</sup> Prof. C. V. Joshi, Raj Daftardar, Baroda, writes to me on 6-12-1947 :—  
“ I have not met with any description of of *Rāṅgoḷī* in the Pali texts. *Rāṅgoḷī* is called “ Sāñjī ( सांजी ) ” in Gujarat. *Sāñjivāle* ( सांजीवाले ) is the name of a Deccani family here ( at Baroda ), whose duty is to arrange *Rāṅgoḷī* in the Palace ”.

I record my best thanks to Prof. Joshi for the above information. I hope some Gujarati scholar will record all possible information about *Sāñjī* from the Gujarati literature, early or late, especially from datable texts.

Trivikramabhaṭṭa ( A. D. 915 )<sup>1</sup> in his *Nalacampū* or *Damayanti-kathā* ( ed. by Shivadatta of Jaipur, Bombay, 1885, p. 140 ) refers to “ रङ्गावलि ” in *Ucchvāsa* IV as follows :

“ इत्याशास्य विश्रान्तायां वियद्वाचि स्थित्वा च किञ्चित्कृतो-  
चित्तापचितिषु गतेषु क्षणादन्तर्धानं मुनिषु “समुष्क्रीयन्तां वैजयन्त्यः,  
बध्यन्तां तोरणानि, सिध्यन्तां चन्दनाम्भोभिः पन्थानः, मण्डयन्तां  
मसृणमुक्ताफलक्षोदरङ्गावलिभिः प्राङ्गणानि, क्रियन्तां कुसुमप्रकर-  
भाञ्जि चत्वराणि, पूज्यन्तां द्विजन्मानो देवताश्च, दीयन्तां दानानि,  
गीयन्तां मङ्गलानि, विसृज्यन्तां वैरिबन्धः, मुच्यन्तां पक्षिणोऽपि  
पञ्चरेभ्यः ’ इति श्रूयमाणेषु परितः परिजनालापेषु etc. ”

The Digambar Jain author Somadeva in his celebrated work *Yaśastilakacampū* ( A. D. 959 )<sup>2</sup> refers to “ रङ्गवल्ली ” as pointed out by Dr. V. Raghavan in his article on “ Gleanings from Somadevasūri’s *Yaśastilakacampū* ” ( p. 255 of *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. I. Part 2, February, 1944 ). Dr. Raghavan remarks:—

“ Page 133— पर्यन्तपादपैः संपादितकुसुमोपहारः प्रदत्तरङ्गावलिः  
( रङ्गवलिः ) इव गृहापरिसरेषु ”

This is a reference to the temporary floral designs drawn with white and coloured powder by our women-folk, for decorating the floor and called *Raṅgavallī*, *Rāṅgolī*, *Alpanū* or *Kolum* ( Tamil ). According to the Sanskrit Texts on painting this is called *Kṣaṇika-Citra* and is classified into *Dhūlicitra* ( with dry powder ) and *Rasacitra* ( with coloured solution ).

Three other references to this *Raṅgavallī* on the floor are to be found on pp. 350, 369 and Pt II, p. 247—

( a )—“ अकालक्षेपं दक्षस्व रङ्गवलिप्रदानेषु । ” ( p. 350 )

( b )—“ अनल्पैकपूरपरामपरिकल्पितरङ्गावलि विधानम् ”

—A description of the court-hall where the white *Karpūra* ( Camphor ) dust is used for the drawings ( p. 369 ).

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 332 of *History of Sanskrit Literature* by A. B. Keith, 1928.—Trivikrama is the author of Navsari inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III of A. D. 915.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 333.

10 [ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. ]



(c) — “चरणनखस्फुटितेन रङ्गावलीमणीन् इव असहमानया ।” —

This is a reference to such designs worked permanently by fixing coloured stones on the floor in the queen's apartment.

For a fourth reference see *Part II*, p. 247—

“रङ्गवल्लीषु परभागकल्पनम्”—which speaks of devising a ground which should set off the design.”

Hemacandra (A. D. 1088-1172) in his *Deśināmamālā* I, 78<sup>1</sup> mentions the word “आइप्पण”, which means *Rāṅgoḷī* decoration and occurs in the following line:—

“आइप्पणं च पिट्टे छणघरमण्डण लुहाछडप्प अ ।”

Hemacandra explains:—

“आइप्पणं पिष्टं उत्सवे गृहमण्डनार्थं सुधाछटा च । तन्दुलपिष्टक्षीरं गृहमण्डनम् आइप्पणं इति अन्ये ।” (vide p. 38 of *Deśināmamālā* — B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1938). In the *Glossary*, p. 7 the editor explains आइप्पण as follows:—

“आइप्पणं i, 78 पिष्टम्, a ground substance ;

“उत्सवे गृहमण्डनार्थं सुधाछटा, White wash.

तंदुलपिष्टक्षीरं गृहमण्डनमित्यन्ये ”

It is clear from the above reference that in Hemacandra's time the term “आइप्पण” meant some “ground substance” as also “whitewash used for beautifying the house on a festive occasion”. This term also meant “a solution of a rice-flour

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to my friend Śrī B. C. Deb of Calcutta who writes on 1-12-1947:—

“As regards *Rāṅgoḷī*:— Yes, that is also the practice in Bengal, as indeed, I believe, everywhere among Hindus in India. In Bengal it is used not only in floor-decoration, but also in decorating wooden seats for bride and bride-groom and for honoured guests at ceremonies and stands for images in poojahs. In Bengal it is called आलिपना or आल्पना which carries us back to Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*, I, 78, where the word occurs as आइप्पण.....I think the word is not really *deśi* but a तद्भव from आलिपन.”

used for decorating the house". Arhaddāsa ( C. A. D. 1250 )<sup>1</sup> in his *Munisuvrata-Kāvya* ( edited by Pt. K. Bhujabali Sastri and Pt. Haranath Dvivedi, Arrah, 1929 ) refers to "रङ्गालयः" ( Rāṅgolī designs ) made of five different jewels and drawn in the courtyard of each house on the occasion of the birth of Jinendra as will be seen from the following verse 23 of canto IV :—

Page 80 — "प्रत्यङ्गुणं कल्पितपञ्चरत्नरङ्गालयश्चक्रुरनेकभंगाः ।

जिनेन्द्रजन्मावसरप्रणश्यत्ययोधरस्ततः धनुर्विशंकां ॥२३॥ "

The commentary on this Kāvya explains this verse as follows :—

"बहुविधा ( अनेक भंगाः ) रंगाणाम् आलयः ( रङ्गालयः )  
पञ्चरत्नेः<sup>२</sup> कृताः अंगणमंगणं प्रति कल्पिताः जिनेन्द्रजन्मावसरे  
विनश्यत् मेघः ( पयोधरः ) तस्मात् स्ततः धनुः तस्य सदेहं ( विशंकां )  
चक्रुः । "

( The five-coloured Rāṅgolī designs presented the appearance of a rain-bow dropped on the earth by a vanishing cloud on the occasion of the birth of Jinendra ).

In my search for the history of Rāṅgolī designs the earliest reference so far recorded by me is that found in the *Varāṅga-carita* ( 7th century A. D. ) XXIII, 15, which mentions the use of five-coloured ( दशार्धवर्णैः ) powders ( चूर्णैः ), flowers ( उप्वैः ) and rice-grains ( तण्डुलैः ) for drawing various designs on the ground ( भूमि-प्रदेशे नानाकृतीन् रचयाम्बसुवुः ). This reference of the 7th century A. D. can be linked up with one of the 64 arts mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana ( Between C. A. D. 50 and 400 ). This art is designated in the *Kāmasūtra* as "तण्डुलकुसुमबलिविकाराः" ( vide p. 32 of *Kāmasūtra* ed. by Kedarnath, N. S. Press, 1900 — साधारणमधि-

<sup>1</sup> Arhaddāsa refers to Āśādhara in the *Munisuvrata-Kāvya*, and also in two other works composed by him viz. *Purudeva Campū* and *Bhavyakāṇṭhā-kharāṇa*. This Āśādhara was the guru of Arhaddāsa. As the date of Āśādhara is about Samvat 1300 ( = A. D. 1244 ) we may reasonably conclude that Arhaddāsa flourished about A. D. 1250. ( Vide p. ४ of Introduction ).

<sup>2</sup> The five colours of Rāṅgolī described by Arhaddāsa appear to have some auspicious significance. We have already recorded the references to the designs of five-coloured rice grains used in चक्रिकर्म as mentioned in the *Varāṅgacarita* ( XXIII, 15 ) of A. D. 7th century and the designs of five-coloured powders, ( पञ्चवर्णरजोभिः ) on the occasion of king's coronation as mentioned in the *Ākūṣabhairavakalpa* ( Between A. D. 1400 and 1600 ).

करणम् chap. 3 ). The commentator Yaśodhara in his *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary ( p. 34 ) explains the above art as follows :—

“ तण्डुल—कुसुम—वालि<sup>1</sup>विकारा इति । अखण्डतण्डुलैः  
नानावर्णैः सरस्वतीभवने कामदेवभवने वा मणिकुट्टिमेषु भक्ति-  
विकाराः । तथा कुसुमैः नानावर्णैः ग्रथितैः शिवलिङ्गादिपूजार्थं  
भक्तिविकाराः । अत्र ग्रथनं माल्यग्रथन एवान्तर्भूतम् । भक्तिविशेषेण  
अवस्थापनं कलान्तरम् । ”

According to Yaśodhara the art mentioned by Vātsyāyana consisted of floor-decorations with rice-grains of many colours in the temple of Sarasvatī ( the goddess learning and arts—“ सरस्वती-  
च नागरकाणां वियाकलासु अपि देवता ”— p. 51 ) or the temple of Kāma-  
deva ( God of love ) and the designs made with many-coloured  
flowers for the worship of *Śivaliṅga*.

In view of Yaśodhara's explanation of “ तण्डुलकुसुमवलि<sup>1</sup>विकाराः ” recorded above I am inclined to think that the origin of our present-day practice of drawing *Rāṅgoli* designs lies in one of the 64 arts mentioned by Vātsyāyana, though later this art became more elaborate and complicated according to the artistic genius of the people of the different provinces of India. The religious association of this art has also been made clear by Yaśodhara by his statement that the designs under reference were drawn on the floors of the temples of *Sarasvatī* or *Kāmadeva* or in connection with the worship of *Śivaliṅga*.

The evidence about the history of *Rāṅgoli* which I have collected from varied sources may now be tabulated chronologically as follows :—

<sup>1</sup> In foot-note 8 on p. 32 the editor states that the वृत्तिकार ( भास्कर वृत्तिह-  
शास्त्रि ) reads “ वालिविकाराः ” instead of “ वलिविकाराः ” and explains the text  
as “ तण्डुलाश्च कुसुमानि च तैः वालिविकाराः कर्णभूषाविशेषरचना ” — Kedarnath adopts  
the reading “ वलिविकाराः ” explained by Yaśodhara as “ भक्तिविकाराः ” ( भक्तिः =  
line of decoration.

Chronology	Reference
A. D. 50,- 400	—The <i>Kūmasūtra</i> mentions “तण्डुल-कुसुम-वलि-विकाराः” as one of the 64 arts.
A. D. 600-700	— <i>Varāṅgacarita</i> refers to various drawings drawn on the floor by using five-coloured powders rice-grains, flowers, on the occasion of रात्रिवलि.
A. D. 915	—Trivikramabhaṭṭa in his <i>Nalacampū</i> refers to “रङ्गावलि” in front of houses on a festive occasion ( marriage ceremony ).
A. D. 959	—Somadeva in his <i>Yasastilakacampū</i> refers to रङ्गवली or रङ्गावली of camphor-dust, jewels etc. four times.
after A. D. 1050	—Vādibhasimha in his <i>Gadyacintāmaṇi</i> mentions “मङ्गलचूर्णरेखा ” drawn on the grounds in a dining pavilion.
A. D. 1088-1172	—Hemacandra in his <i>Deśinūnamālā</i> mentions “आइप्पण ” and explains it as “तंदुलपिष्टक्षीरं ग्रह-मंडनम्.”
C. A. D. 1100	—Aparārka quotes बौधायन, who prescribes उपलेपन of ground followed by drawings of geometrical figures on it like circles etc.
A. D. 1130	—Someśvara in his <i>Mūnasollāsa</i> refers to धूलिचित्र and रसचित्र which are identical with रङ्गवली drawings with powders or liquid solution.
after A. D. 1130	—Śrī Kumāra in his <i>Śilparatna</i> also mentions धूलिचित्र or क्षणिकाचित्र.
C. A. D. 1250	— <i>Munisuvrata-Kāvya</i> of Arhaddāsa describes Rāṅgolī drawings of jewels of five colours, which looked like a rain-bow. These drawings are called “रङ्गालयः.”
C. A. D. 1250	— <i>Līlācarīra</i> mentions “रंगमाळिका” and “सहा-संमार्जन”.

Chronology	Reference
C. A. D. 1273	—Bhāskarabhaṭ mentions “रंगवल्ली” in his <i>Śiśupālavadha</i> .
A. D. 1400-1650	— <i>Pārijāta</i> prescribes the drawings of स्वस्तिक etc. with शिलाचूर्ण ( powder of quartz ) in a temple.
A. D. 1400-1600	— <i>Ākāṣabhairavakalpa</i> mentions रङ्गवल्ली drawings many times in different religious ceremonies.
A. D. 1608-1682	—Saint Rāmadāsa mentions “सढे संमार्जनं” and “रंगमाळा” in his <i>Mānasapūjā</i> .
A. D. 1729-1794	—The Marathi poet Moropant mentions “रंगोळी” in his “ <i>Virāṭaparva</i> .”
A. D. 1838	—Tryambakbhaṭṭa Māte in his <i>Ācūrendu</i> quotes <i>Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa</i> , which prescribes गोमयानुलेपन of ground followed by the drawing of स्वस्तिक figures on it. He also quotes the <i>Smṛtiratnākara</i> , which prescribes उपलेपन of ground.
A. D. 1884	—Note on <i>Rāṅgoli</i> in the <i>Bombay Gazetteer</i> .

I believe, the fore-going evidence shows conclusively the history of our *Rāṅgoli* art for about 2000 years. This history can be taken back easily by at least 500 years as we are warranted in presuming that this art mentioned by the *Kāmasūtra* as “तण्डुलकुसुमवलिचिकाराः” was a recognized art hundreds of years before the time of the *Kāmasūtra* and was, therefore, mentioned among the 64 arts by its author, Vatsyāyana.

As the *Rāṅgoli* art has a continuity in Indian domestic and religious life for more than 2000 years, I may record here the reports of some friends who have taken great interest in this problem and sent me the available information regarding the *Rāṅgoli* art as practised at the places where they are living to-day. These reports are as follows:—

( I ) *Rāṅgoḷi at Bikaner*— My friend Śrī K. M. K. Sarma, M.O.L., Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner writes on 23-12-1947 as follows :—

“ As regards *Rāṅgoḷi* in Bikaner, my colleague Pandit Ghan Shyam Goswami has gathered the following information :—

( 1 ) On the 4th marriage day the Goswami Brahmans perform the *Nāgavalli* ceremony. For this, *Sarvatobhadra* with four elephants on four sides is drawn in various colours,— ( elephants :— one in coloured rice, the other in wheat flour — these two opposite to each other — and the remaining two in salt and sugar respectively ).

( 2 ) On birth-days it is customary for women to draw *Rāṅgoḷis* on *Thalis* in the *Āratī*.

( 3 ) On the 6th day of a Son's birth, the *Kuladevatā* is drawn in *Rāṅgoḷi* of auspicious colours ( yellow and red ) on the wall.

( 4 ) On the *Nāgapañcamī* day, the seven serpents are drawn in *Rāṅgoḷi* of *Haldi* etc. by women.

( 5 ) On the day of *Tulasī Vrata*, women draw *Rāṅgoḷi* in front of *Tulasī*.

( 6 ) On *Śrāvana Śukla Pūrṇimā* the *Rāṅgoḷis* of *Śrāvana Kumāra* carrying his parents in a *Kārad* are drawn ( on both sides of the main entrance ) by women.

( II ) *Rāṅgoḷi in North Malabar* — Mr. K. M. K. Sarma in his letter referred to above writes :—

“ *Rāṅgoḷi* is drawn every day in the court-yard in the month of *Sinhā* in North Malabar, particularly if *Kṛṣṇappāṭu* ( *Bhāgavata* ) is being read. It is a practice there to read *Rāmāyaṇa* in the month of *Karkaṭa* and *Kṛṣṇappāṭu* in *Sinhā*. The *Rāṅgoḷi* is adorned with certain kinds of flowers. *Rāṅgoḷis* on door-steps are usually drawn in South Kanara also after wash with water and besmearing with cow-dung on auspicious occasions. ”

( III ) Śrī Gajapathy Rai Varma writes from *Tadepalligudem* ( South India ) on 3-12-47 :—

“ I am glad to learn that you are writing a paper on *Rāṅgoḷi* or *Rāṅgavalli*. In Telugu-speaking areas ( *Andhra* ) it is commonly called “ *Muggu* ” “ *Mruggu* ” ( in books ), plural, *Muggulu* and

*Mruggulu* respectively. In the districts on the East coast it is common among the people of all castes to lay *Muggulu* on their thresholds after cleaning them and after sprinkling on them water mixed with cow-dung. But in *Telingana* people use *Muggulu* on every Friday and Saturday, as also on auspicious days and festive occasions. During the worship of gods and during festivals they use coloured *Muggulu* but the common stuff used for this purpose is the white powder of the lime from shells. I think this is quite a sanitary practice as lime-powder is a germicide. *Lime powder* is used daily for *Rāṅgoḷi* drawings but during festivals, marriages, and other auspicious occasions *rice-powder* is used. The *Sankranthi* (*Makara-Sankramanam*) festival is the chief among festivals famous for *Muggulu designs*. It falls in the first fortnight of January. During this festival women, including young girls, begin drawing various kinds of designs with white *rice-powder* etc. on the thresholds of their houses from a day, fifteen days previous to *Sankranthi*, in the early hours of morning. In their zeal to excel others in drawing the *Muggulu designs* some of the women and girls commence their labours in this direction as early as 4 A. M. They bring cow-dung, from which they make some balls, which are kept in the midst of *Muggulu*. These balls are then decked with flour. The balls so decked are called "*Gobbi*." Every day fresh *Gobbis* are made and the old *Gobbis* are turned into small cakes with a hole in the centre of each. These small cakes are then made into a garland. Sometimes pieces of copra are inserted between dung-cakes in the garland. After drying such garlands throughout the 14 days they are burnt on the *Bhogi* (called *Pongal* by Tamils) day i.e. a day previous to *Sankranthi*. (A day preceding any festival is called *Bhogi*). The bon-fire of cakes generally commences at midnight. The children commence this bon-fire from the early hours of the morning. Before burning these garlands of cakes, some children wear them on their necks. On the day following the *Sankranthi* the women (mostly girls and young women, who show great interest in *Muggulu* and who even bet with each other in drawing the latest *Muggulu designs* etc.) begin at dawn the drawing of an unbroken line of *Muggu*

( single line ) from their house to the end of the street or some spot at a distance of about 200 yards. Sometimes the *Muggu* line extends to several furlongs. One girl takes the *Muggu* line from her house to that of her neighbour and the neighbour in her turn takes it further to her neighbour and so on.

Locally in these districts I find that the special *Muggulu* drawn on the *Sankranthi* occasion are in honour of the *Sankranthi Puruṣa*. People are afraid of this *Puruṣa* as he is of a malevolent character. To avoid his wrath the *muggulu* are drawn. Some people depict his birth, bringing up and death also in these *muggulu*. But it seems that the *Sankranthi Puruṣa* mentioned above is none but king *Bali*, who is the legendary virtuous king, the ruler of *Rākṣasas*, sent to *Pātāla* by Viṣṇu in the *Vāmana* incarnation. The people say that he was the king of the South Indian people or people of the country and that they draw these *muggulu* designs in his honour.

Some books contain references to *muggulu* with various colours and precious stones drawn on the occasions of marriages of great persons, kings and gods etc. *Muggulu* drawings are found on the walls of houses in villages. The walls are first white-washed and then the *Muggulu* designs are drawn on them. Similar designs are drawn on the floors as well.

In a subsequent letter dated 11-12-1947 Mr. Varma sent to me the following additional information about *Muggulu* :—

Here almost all the non-Brahmin castes including *Perikes* worship earthen pots painted with multi-coloured lines, dots, designs etc. on them. These pots are called *Ariveni* and much sanctity is observed with regard to them.

Red *Muggulu* drawings are drawn in these parts by *Tāntrikas* or magicians, who give some talisman or threads to drive away evil spirits. In the worship of benevolent and good deities also multi-coloured *Muggulu* are drawn by women but in the *Tāntrik* worship they are drawn by men.

For all indoor purposes *Muggulu* of white and other colours are drawn, while for out-door purposes only powder of shells is used. There are also certain instruments used for drawing *Muggulu* designs and decorations. Rice-powder ( for indoor use )



or shell powder (for outdoor use) is put into these instruments, which are then dragged on the floor producing *Muggulu* designs and decorations. Some times *Muggulu* designs are drawn on the doors and door-sides with *Kunkuma* (red colour and *Pasupu* (turmeric) often mixed with gum or some other colours. The designs on the doors consist of horizontal stripes, dots, circles, angular figures, *Svastika* etc.

The bridal couple of the *Perike* caste worships after marriage the *Ariveni* (earthen pots) smeared with white, red and yellow colours in various designs. During the *Dipāvali* festival small earthen pots called "*Gurigi* (plural "*Gurigelu*") are used by *Perike* women. In these pots they put some eatables and place them before the goddess *Lakṣmi* as also other goddesses. These eatables are then distributed among women guests. These *Gurigelu* pots are painted like the *Ariveni* pots but these paintings are not so colourful and attractive as those on the *Ariveni* pots.

The importance of the *Muggulu* designs in the Tamil country was further vouched by Mr. Varma by a small booklet containing numerous *Muggulu* drawings depicting such objects as theB following :—

Steamer, Cradle, Eagle, Rose-water vessel, Pine-apple, Flowering tree, A sea octopus, Betel leaves plate, Beans Creeper, Sofa, ridal seat, Threshold, Puspakavimāna, Lotus shaped umbrella, Sun-flower, Child's cot, Wedding altar, Wedding seat, Wedding threshold, Woman's upper arm Ornament, Mandap, Elephant, Fish, Parrot's cage, Mirror with frame, Flower ball, Water pot, Chair, Pearl necklace, Light stand, Tulasi, sweets packet, Sandal paste pot, Palanquin, Parrot, Chariot with wheels etc.

The history of the art of *Rāṅgoḷi* as briefly sketched in this paper is enchanting enough especially for the students of Indian culture. The present condition of this art in different parts of India needs to be studied carefully. I hope, therefore, that the readers of this article will report to me all possible information about this art as practised in different parts of the country.

# GADHĒṢA-NRPA-VARṆANA-SAMGRAHA-ŚLOKĀḤ

By

G. V. BHAVE

( A newly discovered Sanskrit Manuscript )

• The above is another original Sanskrit manuscript discovered in the stock of Pandit Vasudeo Rao Govilkar of Mandla, and can in a way serve as a supplement to the Ms. Gadhesa-Nrpa-Varnanam discovered by me and published in the 1940 number of the Nagpur University Journal. The Ms. consists of twelve leaves, with written matter closely covering twenty two pages. It is written in a soft black ink, and shows a uniformity of hand throughout, though letters may be found varying in size, which makes one conclude that the compiler is one and the same person whoever he may be. Our Ms. is complete in its form, but surprisingly enough, unlike the general feature of all other Sanskrit Mss., this one gives no hint whatsoever about the name of the compiler or say copyist and of the date of its compilation, but since it has quoted from Gadhesa-Nrpa-Varnanam of Rupnath, the latest of all poets quoted, it is safe to believe that our Ms. was prepared in the first quarter of the 19th century, as Rupnath died not later than 1800 A. D. All due attempts were made to find out one or two more copies of our Ms., so as to test the correctness or otherwise of the text, but of no avail, though some more scraps of paper, containing nearly half the matter of our Ms., have been discovered at another place. But the Govilkar copy of the Ms. is in a tolerably sound condition.

Gadhesa-Nrpa-Varnana-Samgraha-Ślokāḥ, is, as the name implies, nothing but a collection of ślokas or verses, being quotations from different poets, in praise of different Gond rulers of the Gadhā Maṇḍlā dynasty. The noteworthy thing about these poets is that many of them belonged to Maṇḍlā and a majority of them came from the same family of which Lakṣmi-prasāda, the author of the unpublished Sanskrit Ms., namely Gajendra-Mokṣa, was an offspring. There are 13 poets in all

and they are, irrespective of their chronological order, (1) Dikṣit, (2) Jaya Govinda, (3) Narhar Mahāputra, (4) Keśava, (5) Tāresh, (6) Viṭṭhal, (7) Thakkur, (8) Rūpanath, (9) Viṣṇu Dikṣit, (10) Vaidya Nāth Dikṣit, (11) Ghaṇṣyām Mishra, (12) Hari Dikṣit and (13) Lakṣmīprasād. Of these Nos. 1, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12 and 13 belong to the Dikṣit family of Maṇḍlā, while the others were born in different families. The information, as locally gathered about some of these, is being put down in the following few lines :—

(1) *The Dikṣita Family.* A good deal of information about this family is available in the 9th sarga of Gajendra-Mokṣa mentioned above, wherein we learn that the founder of the family in Mandla was one Vishnu Dikshit of the Kashyapa Gotra who hailed from Selagrāma. Now, Vishnu Dikshit learned in the Vedas, after a stay at Benares, was invited by Prem Sahi, and Gangadhar Vajpeyi and others were his pupils. His son Vaidyānath would teach, in the town of Ram Nagar, during the time of Hridaya Shah, Dharma Shastra, Kavya and Vyakarana to many, and Vaidyanath's son, Hari Dikshit, would recite, every day, the Puranas to the King Maharaj Shah. He died a happy death on the bank of Narbada at Mandla, leaving behind him four sons of whom the youngest was a Pauranic under the royal patronage of Nizam Shah. This was no other than our Lakshmi Prasad who offered his now famous composition, "Gajendra Moksha", at the feet of Nizam Shah on the Vijaya Dasmi day of Samvat 1815, corresponding to A. D. 1755. The other three brothers of Lakshmi Prasad were Gangadhar, Sadasheo and Pasupati. Lakshmi Prasad's mother was named Laxmi who was the daughter of one Vasudeo of the Atri Gotra, who had received honours at the hands of the lord of Bandhava Gadha, the modern Rewah. According to Gadhes Nṛp Varṇanam Prem Shah ruled at Gadha during 1652-1671 A. D., and Vishnu Dikshit happened to arrive at Gadha some time during this period, his great grandson adorning later on the court of Nizam Shah. Therefore four successive generations of the family authentically received royal patronage under nine successions of Gadha Mandla Kings at Chaura Gadha, Ram Nagar and Mandla, covering a period of more than hundred years. Vithal Dikshit and Kesheo were

immediate predecessors of Vishnu Dikshit, and their eulogies about Dalpati Shah and Vir Narayan, Chandar Shah and Madhukar Shah make one believe, and reasonably so, that they had known sufficiently about these kings. Wherever only the denomination, Dikshit, occurs in our Ms., I have not been able to identify it with any proper name of the family, though the composer of the first verse of our Ms. I am inclined to believe to be Anant Dikshit, the father of Kesheo Dikshit, describing as he does the qualities of Dalpati Shah. A local Hindi chronicle has supplied a *list*<sup>1</sup> of 36 names of the family where Laxshmi-prashad is found to be the last. Nothing further is known about the family beyond Laxshmi-prashad, though here and there names of certain descendants of his are found on certain Mss. as copyists and in some cases as original writers. For example at one place we find a śloka,

“ शुक्लेऽलिखद्देयनाथः श्रावणयुत्सर्गपद्मातिम् ।

अब्देऽश्वेभेभभूयुक्ते पौषे शुक्लेर्कजे तिथौ ॥ ”

or, at another, a line— “ ब्रह्मा ऋषि ... भूस्वरूपे वत्सरे मासि फाल्गुने ।  
गढायामलिख ..... चिन्तामणिमूनुः गदाधरदीक्षितः । ”

Any way, the family was a Maharashtra family and produced a long tradition of Sanskrit scholars of high worth, among whom Lakshmi Prashad was the most brilliant star and can safely be called the second edition of Magha, for his superior style of chaste versification. The present descendants of Laxmi Prasad living at Mandla have not so far been able to supply the link straight up to the great poet, but one fact is certain that their previous generation was well-versed in the Vedas.

*Thakkur.* By this term we have to understand Mehesh Thakkur, the descendant of that Thakkur of Bhaur who according to Rupnāth was a religious preceptor of Yado Rai. Mahesh

<sup>1</sup> वासुदेव-जनार्दन-रघुनाथ-विठ्ठल-राम-भास्कर-बोपदेव-विनायक-दत्तात्रेय-  
नृसिंह-नारायण-रामचंद्र-गोविन्द-गणेश-रघु-राघव-द्विजराज-वामन-श्रीकृष्ण-गोपाल-  
हृदयुध-चक्रवर्त-हेरंब-रमाकांत-गजानन-श्रीपति-त्र्यंबक-शंकर-गंगाधर-अनंत-केशव-  
विठ्ठल-विष्णु-वैद्यनाथ-हरि-लक्ष्मीप्रसाद-.....

Thakkur was originally a resident of Tirhut, Bihar, and flourished during the time of Dalpati Shah and after him, of Durgavati who both, as husband and wife, as well as, separately, would listen to him, with great devotion, reciting the Puranas in Bansipur near Chaurgarh. Once it happened, so we read in local records, that Mahesh Thakkur could not attend to his daily duties and sent, instead, his pupil Raghunandan as his substitute. The latter efficiently discharged his duties, but on some personal remark about him from Durgavati he felt offended and went directly to Bastar where he obtained from the ruler many costly gifts including eight elephants, one being grey coloured. This last one he presented to Durgavati and proceeded straight to Delhi along with Mahesh Thakkur. At Delhi he obtained from Akbar, the then Emperor of Dehli, a free gift of the territory, of Darbhanga with an annual yield at that time of Rs. 50,00,000, and got it registered in the name of his Guru Mahesh Thakkur. They then both, the master and the pupil, proceeded to rule at Darbhanga, and then the preceptorship was conferred on Damodar Thakkur, the youngest brother of Mahesh Thakkur. Damodar continued to be Royal preceptor in the court of Gond Kings upto the time of Chandra Shah, but when, after the death of Chandra Shah, he refused to officiate at the installation ceremony of Madhukarshah for the latter's cruel acts of murder of his father and brother for obtaining the throne, Damodar was asked to leave the territory and was also deprived of his Jagir of Rs. 12000. Damodar then went to his brother at Darbhanga where he lived till his death. The known immediate predecessors of Mahesh Thakkur are Jñānapati Thakkur, Purushottam Thakkur, and Padmanabha Thakkur and the known descendants of Damodar are chronologically Kamal Datta Thakkur, Ruchipati Thakkur, Jageshwar Thakkur, Indrapati Thakkur and Prem Nidhi Thakkur. Though the family is quite extinct at Mandla, yet the village Maheshpur, Tirhutia Tal and Thakur Tal, near Gadha, established by the family, are still to be traced. The family played an important part in the time of some Gadha rulers, and a sloka about Raghunandan is still heard in the mouth of the learned at Mandla as,

प्रातर्भूतकदंबिनी परिवृढद्विष्वक् तमःशंकया

दिक्चक्रं पुरतो मुधैव चकिता चकित्वमालोकसे ।

श्रीमद्दस्तरभूमहेन्द्रवदनांभोजप्रसादादया

• दायानं रघुनन्दनं गजघटाद्यन्तारवः श्रूयते ॥

*Narhar Mahapatra.* Local chroniclers mention two Mahapatras having visited the Gond capital Chaurgarh during the reign of Durgavati, one being Gop Mahapatra and the other Narhar Mahapatra. Gop was a bard who was specially deputed by Akbar to observe personally the condition of things prevailing in the kingdom of Durgavati and then to comment on them to the Emperor. But Adhar Kayesth the minister of Durgavati arranged for his warm reception throughout the state and he returned highly pleased. As for Narhar, he visited the court of Durgavati immediately after Akbar recognised the claims of Vir Narayan to the Gadha throne. The queen was highly delighted at his learning and poetry and gave him a gift of wealth amounting to one crore of rupees. While Gop was a Hindi poet, Narhar composed poems in Sanskrit. Nothing is known whether these two poets were anyway related, beyond that they were contemporaries and that they had come from the Delhi side. One or two Mahapatra Families are no doubt found in the Mandla District even now, but they have nothing to do with our poets.

*Jay Govind.* He is the composer of the famous Ram Nagar Sanskrit Inscription which is a long eulogy of the Gadha Mandla kings beginning with Yado Rai and stopping at Hridaya Shah, plainly because he died during the time of this last ruler. As is mentioned clearly in the 50th stanza of the Inscription, he was the son of the poet Madan who was well versed in Mīmāṃsā, Logic, and Prosody, and as can be amply testified by the Inscription itself, he was a learned Sanskrit poet of a high order, each single stanza of the Eulogy being enough to justify his claim as a great poet. As is commonly believed in learned circles, he was not a Bajpeyi in the sense of the famous Bajpeyis of Mandla. He was a Jujhotia Brahman pure and simple, in the service of Hridayashah. When Sunder Deo, the Khattri wife of Hridaya-

shah, constructed many gardens, temples and wells in Ram Nagar and wanted to perform the Udyapan vidhi in this connection, the members of the Vajpeyi family proper refused to officiate, saying that as she was not a duly married wife, they could not partake of food from her hands. At this Jay Govind was, after some ceremony, declared a Vajpeyi who then assisted the queen in her performance of the necessary religious rites. Reports go to show that the conclave of learned Brahmans assembled on this occasion at Ram Nagar was quite unique at least in this part of the Province. No further information about Jay Govind or about his descendants is available.

*Rupnath.* Some information has already appeared about the poet in the 1940 number of the N. U. J. I would therefore attempt here to amplify the same a little further. Rupnath was a Maithil Ojha Brahman with a tradition behind him of learned forefathers well equipped in Sanskrit lore and duly honoured by kings everywhere. So far two works of his have been published and they are Ram Vijaya Kavya, termed also a Maha Kavya, published by the Government Sanskrit College, Benares, and Gadhesa Nrpa Varṇanam published in the Nagpur University Journal of 1940. In his Gadhesa Nrpa Varṇanam the poet has also referred to the last king, Summer Shah, of the royal dynasty, which king died in 1789 A. D. Rupa Nath was the contemporary of the Maratha Subah, Moraji, who died in 1796 A. D., as also of the well known Subhamkar Ojha who was born in 1775 A. D.

Now in the learned Sanskrit preface of the above named Ram Vijayakavya we find that Lakshmi Datta, the second son of Rupnath, died in Samvat 1930 at the ripe age of 80; and the popular belief prevalent here is that Rupnath died at the age of 90. Making sufficient allowance for the birth of his first son Yajña Dutta, there is no harm to arrive at the following inference: Laxmi was born in Samvat 1850, at which time Rupnath was probably 25 years old. Rupnath himself was born in Samvat 1825 equal to 1768 A. D. Laxmi Datta's son Chandra has written a Prasasti in which he has said a great deal about the merits and acquirements of our poet who knew Mīmāṃsā, Veda, Vyākaraṇa and other things, and says in the same,

“ आसीन्मैथिलमंडलीषु विलसद्वियावतामग्रणीः ।

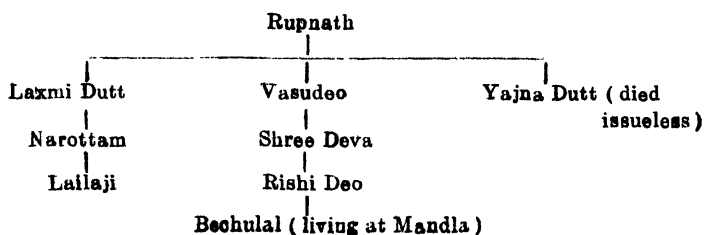
माहिष्मत्याधिलब्धदेवमहिमा श्रीरूपनाथः कृती ॥

Rupnath has also composed some small poems such as Rtu Varnana, and attempts would be made to discover them, also, for publication. His son Lakshmi Dutt who has composed a poem named Tirtha Prabandh has also written a commentary on Ram Vijaya Kavya, but the whole of it is not available, only the first two sargas having come to my hand in the original. That Rupnath was leading an ascetic life can be corroborated by a story. Before coming to Mandla to settle there permanently he lived for many years at Ram Tek and there he acquired nearly a lakh of rupees. On his way to Mandla he was waylaid by the Pindaries who robbed him of all his money. The poet, the very living form of contentment, instead of feeling aggrieved at the misfortune, expressed relief that he was relieved of the burden! There are one or two more such stories about him but space does not permit to give them all *here*.<sup>1</sup>

*Ghanshyam Misra*. He was either the son or the nephew of Sheoram Misra who was a relative brother of Prem Nidhi Thakkur, the descendant of Mahesh Thakkur spoken of above. He was the pupil of Laxmiprasad who took him to Saugor with him. Out of the nine Sargas of Laxmiprasad's Gajendra Moksa, nearly seven were composed by the great poet, while the rest proceeded from the pen of Ghanshyam. And for the following couplet I am indebted to Pandit Ganesh Datta Pathak, B.A., of Mandla :—

“ सर्गषट्कं साष्टपद्यं कविनालेखि सागरे ।

शिष्टं सर्वं धनश्यामः तत्प्रीतमनसालिखत् ।





Gajendra Mokṣa was composed in Samvat 1815, and assuming that Ghanshyam was then 30 years old, he may have been born in Samvat 1785. He was therefore very much older than Rupnath.

*Taresh.* Everything about him is in the dark. Of all these 13 poets, seven were Mahārāstrians, 3 were Maithil, one was a Jujhotia, one a Northern Khattri and only about one nothing can be said.

In the collection of the matter in this Ms. whether by the choice of the compiler or by their intrinsic merit, description in the case of four or five rulers is found in ampler details than in that of others, and they are Dalpati Shah, Durgavati, Premshah, Hridayashah and Nizam Shah. And out of his anxiety to stick to mere praise of the Dynasty the compiler has very cautiously avoided any direct reference to the family intrigues that were a regular feature of the later rulers of the dynasty. But references to some plain historical events were unavoidable on his part, and I would try to take for discussion in brief only three or four among them.

(A) *Marriage of Dalpati with Durgavati*: Our Ms. says that Dalpati obtained the permission of his father and accompanied by his priest and choice army marched and captured Durgavati, the daughter of the Chandel King, and eloped with her. This shows if anything that Dalpati Shah's father, Sangramshah, had his full consent in this heroic mischief on the part of Dalpati. No doubt the example of Prithiviraj and Sanyogita was brilliantly running before them but this alone was not enough. The fact that Dalpati's illustrious father, Sangram Shah, had perhaps been widely known for his extensive power and that Dalpati was himself conscious of his firm position must have encouraged him to take this extra bold step. Otherwise to take up a quarrel with the Chandel king of Mahoba was nothing less than facing a lion in his own lair. To know the antecedents of the marriage we have to take the help of the local chroniclers who affirm that both Dalpati and Durgavati were in love with each other, each being extraordinarily charming by form and figure. Durgavati at last wrote a letter to her lover at Singor Gadh that she had seen him in her dream and that if he really

loved her, he should go to Mahoba on the Vasant Pañchamī day when her parents usually went out to visit the temple of Durga, situated outside the town. Dalpati accordingly took with him a force of 12000 soldiers and carried away his object of love to Singor-Gadh where the marriage was performed with due rites.

(B) *Suryasimha Hada and Jusharsimha*: The next thing worthy to be taken note of here is the important reference in our Ms. to two historical figures, Surya Simha Hada and Jushar Simha Bundela who appear to have been no better than mere usurpers. Strange as it may seem Hindi Gazetteers like Jubbulpore Jnyoti edited by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, as also the Ram Nagar Inscription, are quite silent on the point. Nor does the Gadheṣa Nṛpa Vaṇanam speak anything about them. The C. P. Gazetteer no doubt states that Chandar Shah after Vir Narayan's death transferred his capital from Singor Grah to Chaurghadh which fell into the hands of the Bundelas and that Prem Narayan was slain ( Vide C. P. Gazetteer, 1868 Ed. page 217 ). Here there is only an indirectly suggestive hint at the name of Jushar Simha but not the least to that of Surya Simha. Our Ms. says in clear terms that Surya Simha Hada ruled for three years and Jushar Simha for two, and that both were killed in battle ; ( Vide stanza No. 45 ). This is supported by the Govilkar list of Gadha Mandla kings, where the names of these two usurpers are included just after Vir Narayan and Prem Narayan respectively. ( See N. U. J. of 1940, pp. 200-201 ). Their mischievous activities seem to be historical possible facts when we remember that in those days disorder and anarchy were frequent happenings in these parts particularly because after the joint rule of Durgavati and Vir Narayana, nearly every Gadha Mandla king, for seven to eight generations, had to get the sanction of the Delhi Emperor for his accession to the throne. This possibility is strengthened by the local Hindi chroniclers who say that, when Adhar Simha Kayastha returned from Delhi after settlement in favour of Chandar Shah, he turned out Hada from Madan Mahal to Delhi and seated Chaudar Shah on the throne in Samvat 1592, and further that, eight years after the death of Adhar Simha, Hada usurped the throne at Gadha where in Samvat 1615 he constructed a tank and named it as Surya

Talao and also raised his standard there. Now this date, samvat 1615, falls between the period of Samvat 1613-1616 which is given in the Govilkar list as the period of Surya Simha Hada. Therefore we can believe in Hada having possessed Gadha for three years. This Hada seems to be some Bundela chief who must have accompanied Asaf Khan during the latter's conduct of campaign against Durgavati. One naturally expects to read about him in V. A. Smith's Akbar, but one only meets with utter disappointment. The wrongful possession of Gadha by Hada was put an end to by Madhukar Sahi.

About the Jushar Singh incident the local chronicler has this to communicate to us: when Madhukar Shah burnt himself in Samvat 1643, equal to 1586, A. D., his son Prem Narayan who succeeded to the throne was at Delhi at the time. Vir Simha Deo of Orchha also happened to be there on some mission and invited Prem Narayan to his camp to dine with him, but the latter unceremoniously declined the invitation. Whereupon Bir Singh Deo returned to his capital smarting under the insult. He himself wanted to punish Prem Narayan but soon he was taken abed. At the time of his death the Bundela chief called to his death-bed his three sons Pahar Singh, Juharsingh and Hardol Lala, and pledged them to capture Gadha, imprison Prem Narayan and release him only when he would partake of the rice from their hands. Failing which they were not to be called his sons! What a queer type of revenge for such a minor little thing as non-acceptance of an invitation! The second thing to which the three sons were pledged was that they must take from Prem Narayan a promise not to yoke cows for the tilling of fields in the Gondwana. True to this oath both Pahar Singh and Jushar Singh came and besieged Chaugadh, but the fort defied the besiegers for nine long moths. Then a stout and strong man, through some trick, went up and lifted the king away in his worshipping posture, and keeping him somewhere in the open, pierced his head mostly with his teeth.<sup>1</sup> This happened in Samvat 1662. Hridaya Shah was at the time at Delhi. At this

<sup>1</sup> According to another local chronicle Premshah along with Jaydeo Vajpeyi was invited to Jushar's camp and there treacherously killed while both were at worship.

he immediately started from there, came to Gadha, took the help of Bhopal rulers and attacked Chauragadh where Jushar Singh ruled, Pahar Singh being at Orcha. Jushar was killed and the fort was taken possession of by Hridayashah. Hridayashah, however, like a noble ruler that he was, sent the family of Jushar to Orchha with all due honour. Now, the Govilkar list gives Samvat 1662 as the date of Jushar's death, while the local chroniclers use this date for the death of Prem Narayan, which gives a clear difference of two years. But fixing of dates being not the main point of discussion here, it is left for some other occasion. Our Ms. has to say something about Jushar's character that he was an irreligious and sinful fellow and that he met an untimely death as a result of his own sins.

This episode of Surya Simha Hada and Jushar Simha Bundela requires further investigation at the hands of competent historians, because as yet only half-naked facts have been available.

(C) *Literary Merits of the Collection*: As I have hinted above quite a good amount of space has been devoted in our Ms. to the description of Nizamshah who was for all practical purposes the last king of the dynasty. The reason seems to be that two very competent poets who were contemporary to Nizam Shah find an honourable place in it. People of the old generation are yet living in Mandla who, though depending on hearsays mostly, yet possess many recollections about the king. Making all allowances for the poetic exaggeration about Nizam Shah as administrator the fact has to be admitted that he had very much in him that makes him entitled to be called a highly cultured and humane king. As an administrator, our poets tell us that, he was as powerful as the sun (95), could pierce through the enemy-flanks like a man standing in the midst of showers of rain-water (98), seeing whose powers even the sun fell senseless for a time into the water (104), and also that no enemy could stand before him (108). His efficiency as a master-hunter was carried to such an extent that even tigers in the forest dreaded him (110), and at the enormous speed of his horse—he was an expert rider—even the mind, the Garud and the wind, famous for their swift movements, forget their own speed (111).

But look at other things in him which we have no reason to deny but have every reason to admire. He was a chintamani and a Kalpa Druma as well as a Kamadhenu (96) solely on account of his munificent gifts; and there are people even now living whose fore-fathers owed much to Nizam Shah. He was a religious minded man and worshipped different deities without a distinction (113) and he beautified the fort and the town of Mandla by erecting new and fine construction (115). His subjects were contented and happy because they had plenty of every thing (105), and he was above all things a lover of learning and a patron of learned people (119), also proved by the cases of Laxmi Prasad and Rup Nath among others. A man with a soft heart like Nizam Shah could also display iron-courage when so required. He thrust Mohan Singh, an extremely strong man and an intriguing relative of his, into a bag and after having sewn it, had it flung into the river! Ajit Singh, a dependent chieftain of his, created troubles in the kingdom to the extent of getting possession over a portion of land including Maharajpur, on the river Narbada opposite Mandla itself. Nizam Shah got him arrested through means of Vishram Singh, his minister, and had him dashed against the wall!

The numbering of stanzas in the Ms. is a very unsystematic and irregular affair. In between the 7th and 8th stanzas there appears an un-numbered stanza, and the stanza No. 22 is found not numbered after which appear the three stanzas as are numbered repeatedly as 21, 22, and 22. The stanza coming after the 28th has no number and this is suddenly followed by number 39. After 39 appear numbers 31, 32, twice 33, 34, twice 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 followed by numbers 31 to 40 in regular succession. Then number 41 occurs twice, regularly followed by numbers 42 to 66. Then again number 67 comes twice followed by Nos. 68 to 83 in good order. Then No. 84 also finds itself repeated twice whereafter come numbers 85 to 95 in their due order. We again see number 96 twice followed by numbers 97, 98 to 102 and then again suddenly are three numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. All this arrangement is difficult to understand, but the total number of the stanzas in all is unmistakably 126.

Our Ms. has quite a large variety of Metres, nearly nineteen, many of which are sweet to read and pleasant to hear. Some of these such as the Shārdul Vikridit and Sragdharā are of the popular taste, while such others as Avitathā and Pra-mitāksarā are of a rare occurrence. Shārdul Vikridita occurs here nearly 20 times, while Sragadharā more than 40. Our Ms. represents different grades of standard and style because it has a collection from several writers not of the same attainments. We read there compositions of all sorts from those which present a bare fact told in a blunt manner untouched altogether by any figuration to those where-in one finds oneself engulfed into and surrounded by twisting and coiling creepers of highly metaphorical phraseology. Can there be a more plain construction than,

“ उर्वरा सर्वतो भूमिर्मध्यतो नर्मदा नदी ” ?

Many kinds of figures are used by all these our poets, Simile and Metaphor being most predominant. Examples of Simile such as:- “ शिव इव शिवराजाह्वयः ” etc., and “ माहिष्मत्यमरावतीव सुखदा, ” those of metaphor of the type of “ नृपदलपतिसाहो वैरिवक्त्रेन्दुराहो प्रतिभटपवनाहौ ” etc., “ कुलकमलदिनेशो वैरिदावानलो यो, ” and चन्द्रिका यस्य कीर्तिः ”; examples of प्रश्नालंकार as “ किं कर्पूरचयः किमिन्दुमणयः किं मौक्तिकश्रेणयः ” and those of Alliteration such as “ मदनसदनमध्ये, ” “ चलदलविलशुष्के, ” “ यस्य प्रोद्यत्प्रतापप्रथमपरिचयप्रद्रुतभ्रष्टनिद्राः, ” “ रामवद्रामारामविहाररामसहजो ” etc. do, if anything, heighten the charm that one feels in reading these stanzas.

## TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

“ गदेशनृपवर्णनसंग्रहश्लोकाः । ”<sup>1</sup>

दीक्षितः—

दलपतिसुमतिर्बभूव तस्य

क्षितिपमणस्तनयः पवित्रकीर्तिः ।

अभिलषति सुखानि यस्य कीर्तिं

चिरयुगानुमिथंति नागनाथः” ॥ १ ॥

श्रुत्वा विप्रमुखात्स्वयंवरवरे स्वाकर्षणं प्रेम-

स्ताताज्ञां परिलभ्य यो हि गतवान्सत्संन्यतद्विप्रयुक्त ।

अद्वंष्ट्राश्वतिर्था युते दलपतिर्निर्मथ्य स्वाराधकान् ।

श्रीचंदेलमुतां जहार बलवान् दुर्गावतीं श्रीमतीम् ॥ २ ॥

रसरज” (?) तिथियुक्ते हायनं भूदृढेशो

नृपदलपतिसाहिः सिंहदुर्गे स्थितिर्यत् ।

बलय उमरखानो भून्नवावो रुहिला

वरमतिसाचिवोस्या धारकायस्थधीरः ॥ ३ ॥

जयगोविन्दः—

वितरणवारिभिर्नियतमार्द्रकरस्य हरिस्मरण-

परायणस्य<sup>2</sup> वशीभवतां ।

निरुपाधिपालितप्रकृतिकस्य हि यस्य सदा

चरणरजो रजोगुणजुषो जना जगृहुः ॥ ४ ॥

दीक्षितः—

नृपदलपतिसाहौ वैरिवक्त्रेन्दुराहौ

प्रतिभटपवनाहौ पविराजानबाहौ ।

चलति भुवनपाली साब्धिद्वीपाधराली

फणितिलकफणाली द्वाग्विफाली बभूव ॥ ५ ॥

<sup>1</sup> [ In the foot-notes G. C. stands for Govilkar Copy of the Ms., R. I. for Ram Nagar Inscriptions, I. C. M. for Incomplete Copy of the Ms., and G. M. for Gajendra Moksha ].

<sup>2</sup> This stanza also occurs as No. 16 in R. I. and probably may have borrowed it from some one of the learned Dikshit family.

<sup>3</sup> G. C. itself has the corrected form as “ गुणगजातिथियुक्ते ”.

<sup>4</sup> R. I. has additionally “ शरणस्य ” before “ वशीभवताम् ” and “ अपि ” before “ जना जगृहुः ”.

दलपतिनृपराज्ये याचको याचकोभूत्  
 प्रतिगृहधरणी-श्रीपूर्ण-विद्याविलासं<sup>१</sup> ।  
 कुलकमलदिनेशो वैरिदावानलो यो  
 मदनसदृशरूपः मुंदरी यस्य दुर्गा ॥ ६ ॥  
 'शुवि सुरपतिकल्पं भोगमापाथ सेल्पं'<sup>२</sup>  
 वसुसममथतीते स्वर्गभोगातुरोभूत् ।  
 गुरुचरणपयोज्यं योच्य भक्त्या द्विजाभ्यान्  
 गजकनकसुरत्नैस्तर्प्य रेवांबुगोगात् ॥ ७ ॥  
 द्वापंचाशदमंदघोटकवरारोहाः सहस्राः सदा  
 सेनायां द्विरदोन्मदामनुशतं लक्षोद्भटापत्तयः<sup>३</sup> ।  
 राजंते पुरजां<sup>४</sup> स्वधर्मनिरतादाने मृधे तत्परा  
 नार्थि यस्य जना विदंति नृपतेस्त्रैकोटिराज्ये सकृत् ॥ ८ ॥

जयगोविंदः—

अभ्यर्थिनां भाग्यसमृद्धिरेव  
 स्वरूपिणी पुण्यपरंपरेव ।  
 सौभाग्यसमीव<sup>५</sup> वसुंधराया  
 दुर्गावती तस्य बभूव पत्नी ॥ ९ ॥  
 पुरंदरे भूवल्यस्य तस्मिन्  
 जस्तं प्रयाते तनयं त्रिवर्षं ।  
 श्रीवीरनारायणनामधेयं  
 दुर्गावती 'राज्यपदेभिर्षिचत्'<sup>७</sup> ॥ १० ॥  
 अत्युच्चैः कनकालयैः परिलसन्निस्सीमहेमाचला  
 सर्वत्रैव<sup>८</sup> लुठत्सुरत्ननिचयेर्निःसंख्यरत्नाकरा ।  
 उद्दामद्विरदव्रजैरगणितस्वर्गेशदंतावला  
 भूरन्यैव कृताऽखिल<sup>९</sup> त्रिभुवनप्रख्यातकीर्त्या यया ॥ ११ ॥

१ It ought to be विलासं.

२ Here सोल्यं is more appropriate as it agrees with यो below.

३ This seems to be लक्षोद्भटाः पत्तयः ।

४ Instead of पुरजां the word must be पुरजाः ।

५ R. I. shows समीव in the place of समीव.

६ R. I. gives राजपदे.

७ The correct form is अभ्यर्षिचत्.

८ R. I. has लुठत् in actual.

९ In R. I. the word appears to be अखिला used independently to qualify ययः ।



तुरगमातग-सुवणकाट-

निरंतरोत्सर्गमयाह्निकायाः<sup>1</sup> ।

अशेषकीर्तिं किलकामधेनो-

र्यशांभिरुच्चैरधरीचकार ॥ १२ ॥

नरहरमहापात्रः—

का त्वं पातकपुत्रिका विपदहं पौत्री कलेः किं ततो

गाढं रादसि सोदरस्य महता कष्टेन कः सोदरः ।

दारिद्र्यः खलु तच्च केन निहिता राड्यायदुर्गाख्यया

तस्मात्कोपवशेन यामि सततं तद्विरिवृंदालये ॥ १३ ॥

केशवः—

सा श्रीशूरशिरोमणेर्दलपते राज्ञी रमेवांत्तमा ।

यां शंसन्ति द्विजोत्तमा नृपवराः सम्यग्दिशामंतरे ।

सत्याशक्तमनेन्दुवज्जनिधराकर्णेव दाने सदा

सा संख्ये प्रबलारिवृंद-हरिणी<sup>3</sup>-दुर्गेव दुर्गावती ॥ १४ ॥

यस्याः कीर्तिलता त्रिधा ह्यवलिता याता च मंदाकिनी

गंगा भोगवती मनोज्ञफलदा नामंति धत्ते स्फुटं ।

नाके भूमितले फणीशभवने सद्भिः सदा सेविता

सा संख्ये प्रबलारिवृंदहरणी दुर्गेव दुर्गावती ॥ १५ ॥

उर्वरा सर्वतो भूमिर्मध्यतो नर्मदा नदी ।

विज्ञा दुर्गावती राज्ञी गढाराज्ये त्रयो गुणाः ॥ १६ ॥

जयगोविन्दः—

स्वयं समारुह्य गजं रणेषु

बलाज्जयंती प्रबलान्विपक्षान् ।

सदा प्रजापालनसावधाना

सा लोकपालान्विफलीचिकार ॥ १७ ॥

सहैव गृह्णन्सकरेण राज्ञां

तदूर्जितं विश्वविसारि तेजः ।

विवेश तारुण्यमनंतकीर्तिः

श्रीवीरनारायणनामधेयः ॥ १८ ॥

<sup>1</sup> In R. I. the letter या is without a Visarga in the original.

<sup>2</sup> These two words are apparently wrong; they ought to be दारिद्र्यं and निहितं respectively.

<sup>3</sup> “हरिणी” ought to be “हृणी”.

तारेः—

समे सर्वतिथौ सर्वे पाठकार्त्तोगढामगात् ।  
 सर्वान्वये विरामे तत्पदं कृत्वा तमार्जुनिः ॥ १९ ॥  
 कृत्वाल्पं वाजपेयं दलपतिजकृपात् साधवः सानुजो यः  
 सर्वे पीत्रात्मजोभूदकबरनृपगीर्त्तार्च्य येनेभहेतोः ।  
 आधारेन्तर्गतभूत्स्वयमथ सचिवो युद्धमुत्पादितां यत्<sup>१</sup>  
 भीत्या प्राक् प्राप मृत्युं बहुवर्णाविजयी सांबभूयोतमीयात् ॥ २० ॥

जयगोविन्दः—

कालक्रमादकबरक्षितिपुरहूतेन पार्थकलपेन ।  
 प्रहितः कराय बलवान्नासफखानस्ततो राज्ञा ॥ २१ ॥  
 अक्षौहिणीनञ्चितभूतलेन  
 जाते<sup>२</sup> रणे तेन महाभटेन ।  
 बलं विचिंत्यापि<sup>३</sup> समस्तमस्य  
 दुर्गावती भीमपराक्रमेण ॥ २२ ॥  
 संविक्षिता लक्षविपक्षबाणैः  
 स्वपाणिखड्गेन शिरः स्वकीयं ।  
 छित्त्वा क्षणेन द्विरदे निषण्णा  
 भिनद्रवेर्मेडलमात्मजश्च ॥ २३ ॥

‘दीक्षितः—

श्रीवीरनारायणार्त्तिहृदेवः  
 कृत्वाथराज्यं नयनाक्षिवर्षं ।  
 दिल्लीशसैन्यं कतिधा विजित्वा<sup>४</sup>  
 श्रीकैशवं युद्धछलादगायः ॥ २४ ॥  
 दिल्लीधर्वादेशकृतादरेण श्रीसूर्यसिंहाख्यमहाबलेन ।  
 राज्यं त्रिवर्षं परिपाल्यचाशु हाडापमृत्युं समरे च तेन ॥ २५ ॥

<sup>१</sup> The correct form should be उत्पादितां to agree with यत्.

<sup>२</sup> R. I. has याते for जाते, but I. C. M. gives जाते.

<sup>३</sup> We read विजित्यपि in R. I.

<sup>४</sup> In I. C. M. stanzas 24 and 25 are not to be found.

<sup>५</sup> This is decidedly an ungrammatical form; instead, विजित्य is wanted here.

<sup>1</sup> अकबरनृपेशाक्रांतराज्यं हि ज्ञात्वा—

ऽऽदिसचिवमतिमज्जश्वागतो देवदुर्गात् ।

तदथबलमहोग्रं बाहुवीर्येण जित्वा

सपदि सचिवहस्तायां चरदाननीतिं ॥ २६ ॥

कुर्वायिचोकीगडरायसेनं

भोपालभोरासगुनारदारीं ।

मर्कायिकालोपवनं सरातं

<sup>2</sup>दिल्लीधनं चाप्य निरामयोभूत् ॥ २७ ॥

<sup>3</sup>दलपतिनृपतेरथानुजन्मा शरणमनाथजनस्य चंद्रसाहिः ।

निधिरिव महसामखंडदीपः सकलकुलस्य यशोधनोभाषितः ॥ २८ ॥

वस्त्राण्याकृष्य केशग्रहमपि तरवः कुर्वते कंटकैः स्वैः

श्वासैर्यास्तान् दहंति द्रुतविवृतवपुर्दीप्तिदावान् प्रदर्श्य ।

नैष्ठुर्येणैव नित्यं दधति च वसितुं यास्त्वचः पादपानां

कान्तारं शत्रुकान्ताः कलहमिव सहस्थावरैर्यस्य चक्रुः ॥ २९ ॥

**विट्ठलदीक्षितः—**

<sup>1</sup>रसशशिसमभोगं प्राप भूपो गढायां

रिपुगणभयहीनो भीमकल्पोद्धृशक्तिः ।

मदनसदनमध्ये प्राप यः खड्गमृत्युं

हरिपदममलोगाच्चंद्रसाहिर्गण्डेशः ॥ ३० ॥

<sup>1</sup> The I. C. M. gives the following variant of this stanza :—

अकबरक्षितिपेनाक्रान्तराज्यं हि ज्ञात्वा

पवनज इव रोषादागतो देवदुर्गात् ।

यवनपतिबलोग्रं बाहुवीर्येण जित्वा

निजक्षितिरमणोभूच्चन्द्रसाहिर्नरेन्द्रः ॥

( सपदि सचिवहस्तादाननीतिव्याधायः )<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This whole line is found in I. C. M. thus :—

“ दिल्लीपतेरप्य गढाधिपाभूत् ” ।

<sup>3</sup> This stanza as also the one following are also found in R. I., numbered 27 and 28 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> This stanza is missing from I. C. M., and instead another irrelevant stanza is found there which is thus :—

वसुनवशरचंद्रे तीर्थराजप्रयागे तपसि धवलपक्षे द्वादशीपूर्वयामे ।

शिक्षिनि वनजहोमः सावभौमाधिपत्यं सकलशत्रुनिहारी ब्रह्मचारीमुकुन्दः ॥

जयगोविन्दः—

समजानि तनयां नृपस्य तस्य

स्मरदहनादिव षण्मुखः सुकीर्तिः ।

निधिरिव महसामिहोर्जितानां

मधुकरसाहिरिति <sup>1</sup>क्षमातलेन्द्रः ॥ ३१ ॥

प्रत्यग्रप्रौढगाढप्रलयजलधरध्वन्यधःफारिदक्का—

धावद्धुंकार-धाराबधिरितविधुतध्वस्तधीरोद्धतेन ।

येन प्रोद्दामधाम्ना भुजबलविहितैः शश्वदाशादिगीशान्

अद्यापि स्पष्टमष्टांजनगणरटितैस्तज्जयैर्लज्जयन्ति ॥ ३२ ॥

<sup>2</sup>अथ मधुकरसाहिः चापराज्यं गदेशो

जनकहननप्रायश्चित्तमाश्वाचरयः ।

चलदलविलशुष्कं गोमयाज्येन्दुलिप्तं

स्वकरदहनतोङ्गं दीपितो दिक्समाति ॥ ३३ ॥

ठक्कुरः—

<sup>3</sup>चूडामणिर्जन्मदमेधकृत्ये

स्वाचार्य आसीदभूथेथ तस्मै ।

तत्सांगतां यः पविर्यीं नृपोदात्

काशीमगायो नृपवन्नृपति ॥ ३४ ॥

<sup>4</sup>साधूनामभिलाषसिद्धिविभवः क्षात्रं समग्रं महः

शक्तिर्मुक्तिमती स्मरस्य भवनः कीर्तिः कुलस्योन्नतिः ।

सर्वस्वं सुकृतस्य कौशलमिति स्रष्टुर्गुणानां निधि-

दोषानामपथं सुतोऽस्य नृपतेः श्रीप्रेमनारायणः ॥ ३५ ॥

<sup>1</sup> R. I. has क्षमा in the place of क्षमा.

<sup>2</sup> I. C. M. substitutes the following stanza from Rupnath:—

नृपमधुकरसाहिः प्राप राज्यं गदायां

कलुषमलिनेदहो राज्यसौख्यं व्यसृज्य ।

अथ दहनयुतायां शुष्कबोधेर्वपायां

( त्रि ) दिवजसुखमीप्सुर्दाहयामास देहम् ॥

<sup>3</sup> This stanza is not found in I. C. M.

<sup>4</sup> This stanza and stanzas 36 and 37 occur in R. I. numbered 31, 32 33 respectively there. In the place of the words “मुक्तिमती” and “भवनः” in R. C., R. I. and I. C. M. show “सुतिमती” and “भवनः” respectively, while “दापानां” of G. C. is found to be “दोषाणां” in R. I.

प्रेम्नोयद्विध्यगन्धद्विरदघनघटाघोरसेनासहस्र<sup>१</sup>  
 प्रत्यग्रप्रौढजाग्रद्विरमितदलिताऽ<sup>२</sup> शेषभूभृद्गणस्य ।  
 यस्य प्रोयन्प्रतापप्रथमपरिचयप्रद्रुतभ्रष्टनिद्रा<sup>३</sup>  
 नाद्यापि द्राग्विपक्षा जहति गिरिदरीः सुन्दरीभिवियुक्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥  
 प्रौढाः<sup>४</sup> सर्वक्षितीशाः समरभुवि बलाद्वन्धनीया न वैरं  
 कीर्तिलोके च दानैरविरलविहितैर्वर्द्धनीया न गर्वः ।  
 दातव्यं सर्वदेव द्रुतमभिलखितं याचकेभ्यो न पृष्टं  
 भूपानामेष धर्मः स्फुटमिह चरितं प्रेमसाहेः प्रमाणम् ॥ ३७ ॥

रूपनाथः—

प्रेमसाहितृपतिर्द्विजभक्तो  
 वैष्णवो विविधधर्मविधाता ।  
 व्याधिराधिरभवन्नजनानां  
 यत्र शासति महीमवनीशे ॥ ३८ ॥  
 यश्चोरागढभूमिमेत्यमनिशं संपालयन् विक्रमै-  
 र्यज्ञैर्देवगुणान् सुरेशसहितान् संतोषयन् कामतः ।  
 दानैर्मानपुरस्तैरद्विजवरान् संपूजयन् सर्वदा  
 लक्ष्मीकांतपदारविंदमधुपो राज्यं चकारेप्सितं ॥ ३९ ॥

गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—

कृत्वा संग्राममुग्रं नरपतितिलकोप्यायुषः पूर्तिहेतो-  
 र्यद्वंशे प्रेमसाहिः क्षितिभृदितिपदं विष्णुलोकं गमिष्यन् ।  
 पातिवृत्त्या<sup>१</sup> द्वरिण्या निजकुलजगढादेशभूभृत्सुसत्यं  
 कृत्तेन स्वेन मूर्ध्ना रदधराणिधृतेः ख्यापयामास नूनं ॥ ४० ॥  
 धृतिसममर्थ<sup>२</sup> भोगं प्राप्य राज्ये नरेशो ।  
 हरिपदयुगपद्वेऽचंचला यस्य भक्तिः ।  
 सुरपुरसुखमीप्सुः पुण्यसंग्रामभूमा-  
 वकबरबलछद्मात्पातयामास देहम् ॥ ४१ ॥

<sup>१</sup> R. I. gives प्रोन्मायत् for प्रमायत् ।

<sup>२</sup> In R. I. this whole line stands thus :—

“ प्रत्यग्रप्रौढधारावनमितविधुताशेषभूभृद्गणस्य ” ।

<sup>३</sup> R. I. substitutes “ एव ” for “ सर्व ”, एव for च after लोके, अविरत for अविरल and अभिलषितं for अभिलखितम् ।

<sup>४</sup> G. M. has “ पातिव्रत्याद्वरण्या ” for “ पातिवृत्त्याद्वरिण्या ”.

This stanza is wrongly put under G. M. as my Ms. copy of G. M. IX does not contain it; nor does it occur in R. I. and I. C. M. Its authorship is thus far unknown.

पूर्णनिक<sup>१</sup> कलातिथिः प्रतिपदा लब्धोदयः सर्वदा  
ऽहोरात्रप्रथमानमासमहिमासत्कृष्णपक्षक्रमः ।  
तस्मादब्द इवापरः समजानि श्रीप्रेमसाहिः प्रभो-  
र्नाम्ना श्रीहृदयेश्वरः सुखयिता पूर्वप्रभावः सतां ॥ ४२ ॥

<sup>२</sup>मुख्योधिकारी हृदयेशराज्ये

भूप्रियो भागवतायरावः ।

संज्ञार्थवित्तन्नृपतेर्गुलालो

मृजावलेशो ह सकृद्विजो भूत् ॥ ४३ ॥

गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—

राज्यं ज्ञात्वान्यदीयं त्वरितमुपगतस्त्यक्तदिल्लीशसंगो  
द्वापंचाशत्स्वदुर्गस्थितरिपुवसतीरेककालं विहत्य ।  
शत्रुं हत्वारिरामास्वपुरनयनकृत्स्वांग्दादेशभूमिं  
पातिव्रत्यैकमत्या दशरथसुतवत् भूसुतां हर्षयन् सन् ॥ ४४ ॥

<sup>३</sup>अकछपक्षसैन्ययुक् जुशरसिंहबुंदिला

कराब्दराज्य भोगभुक् बभूव हनिधर्मधीः ।

स एककाल आशु वै द्विपंचवीरयुक् छली

ह्यकालमृत्युमाप संगरे निजाघकर्मतः ॥ ४५ ॥

विष्णुदीक्षितः—

<sup>४</sup>मार्तण्डोद्दण्डचण्डयुतिरिव समरे लक्ष्यतेऽकक्षपक्षा-  
स्तेऽलक्षाऽष्टाः कमिक्षुः सपदि गिरिदरीः सुन्दरीभिः प्रविष्टाः ।  
तद्रामाऽक्षयश्रुधारां घनरसदघटालक्ष्यमन्दाक्ष्यमीयुः  
प्राहुस्ताः कान्तशान्तिं हृदयनरपतेर्मन्युवह्नेनयामः ॥ ४६ ॥

गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—

तत्पुत्रो भूमहेन्द्रो हृदयनरपतिः सर्वविद्याप्रवीणान्  
वीणावाद्यायहीनान् विबुधकविवरान् नन्दयन् स्वीयबुध्या ।

<sup>१</sup> This stanza which is from R. I. No. 34 wrongly finds place under G. M. here. "लब्धोदयः" of the 1st line is seen as "रब्धोदयः" in R. I. as well as in I. C. M. and "श्रीप्रेमसाहिः", in the 3rd line should be either "श्रीप्रेमसाहेः", or without a Visarga so as to be compounded with "प्रभोः" ।

<sup>२</sup> The authorship of this stanza also is beyond decision. It is just possible the compiler of our Ms. might have obtained it as an independent piece of composition from Laxmiprasad the author of G. M.

<sup>३</sup> The above holds good in the case of this stanza also.

<sup>४</sup> I. C. M. substitutes "घनघनरसदा" for "घनरसदघटा" occurring in the 3rd line.

तुल्यं देवेन्द्रपुर्या नगरमभिधयारामपूर्वं नवीनं  
यश्चक्रे दाशि यत्र द्विजविहितमखैर्यत्र धर्मश्चतुष्पात् ॥ ४७ ॥

**विष्णुदीक्षितः—**

ये गण्यन्ते गुणज्ञैर्मघवति सुगुणाशीतरश्मौ दिनेशे  
बिनेशे धर्मराजे मरुति हुतिवहे ये जलेशे प्रतीच्यां ।  
दृश्यन्ते भूतलेस्मिन् हृदयनरपते ते समस्ताः सुराणां  
वर्ण्यन्ते सत्कवीन्द्रैरनुदिनमखिलेर्नागवंशे गढेशे ॥ ४८ ॥

**वैद्यनाथदीक्षितः—**

कीर्णैरध्वनि कुंतलेः प्रतिषदं पाशोपमैर्यंत्रिता  
निःस्वासेर्हृदयेशदावसदृशैः संतापिता निःसहैः ।  
नेत्राद्वैघनबिन्दुभिर्निगमिता रात्रिदिवं त्वद्भया-  
दास्मीयैरापि वैरिवारिजदृशो बाधाशतं निन्यरे ॥ ४९ ॥

**जयगोविंदः—**

क्ष च पालयन्निखिलमेव जगन्नितरामनाथवति क्षितिपः ।  
समवर्षणोप्यतिशयेन घनः पयसाऽभिषिंचति निम्नगतम् ॥ ५० ॥  
रम्यारामपरंपरापरिवृताः सीधालयैरुज्जताः  
संपन्नप्रजया भृताः सकमलैः स्वच्छैः<sup>१</sup> शरोभिर्द्युताः ।  
येन व्यायतनैकघोषरुचिरा विश्वग्विशालोर्वरा  
विप्रेभ्यः स्मृतताम्रपट्टाविभिभिर्ग्रामाः कियन्तोऽर्पिताः ॥ ५१ ॥  
स्वस्थानैः स्वरभेदबोधकरणं संग्रा[म]<sup>२</sup> तालोचितं  
संपूर्णश्रुतिधर्मरागरुचिरं तत्कूटनानाश्रितं<sup>३</sup> ।  
सन्मार्गस्थितिचित्तहारिमुलभं यत्किनराणां महत्  
साम्राज्यं निजमुद्धार सकलं संगीतशास्त्रं च यः ॥ ५२ ॥  
अच्छला<sup>४</sup> निखलाऽखिला नृपाला हृदयेशस्य ममुः करेऽमुनैव ।  
लिखिताश्चनकैकभित्तमध्ये ननु पंचाशदिव द्विपा महान्तः ॥ ५३ ॥

<sup>१</sup> The correct form found in I. C. M. is “निःस्वासेः”, and the last word in the stanza “निन्यरे” must be correctly “निन्यरे”.

<sup>२</sup> R. I. has the word “हि” after “ऽभिषिंचति”.

<sup>३</sup> “शरोभिः” ought to be “सरोभिः” which is also found in R. I..

<sup>४</sup> R. I. and I. C. M. both have “सद्ग्राम”.

<sup>५</sup> “तत्कूट” also occurs in I. C. M. but R. I. gives “तत्कण्ट”.

<sup>६</sup> G. C. and I. C. M. both have “निखला” but R. I. shows “निखिला” which form is more appropriate.

<sup>७</sup> “लिखिताश्चनकैक” occurring in I. C. M. also is found to be “लिखिताः कनकैक” in R. I., and the “भित्त” occurring in all the three is wrong. It ought to be “भित्ति”. This error was also noticed by Hall.

अभूदणीकस्य<sup>1</sup> चले तु लक्ष्ये न विस्मयः कश्चन तेन विन्दे ।  
तिर्यक् परिक्षितशरः<sup>2</sup> शरैर्यः स्थले स्थले त्वेकपदे छिनत्ति ॥ ५४ ॥

यस्योपरीयमिन्द्रोक्तिः—

अयि वद विमनाः कृतोऽसि जिष्णो  
बिबुधवरा विदितं नवः किमेतत् ।  
हृदयनरपतिर्यदेष विप्रान्  
भुवि दधाति शतक्रतूननेकान् ॥ ५५ ॥

घनश्याममिश्रः—

प्रस्थाने हृदयक्षितीशरमणे त्वद्वैरिवामभ्रवा  
त्वल्लुंटाकभटाहतोन्नरपटा तेनुस्तराद्वच्छटाः ।  
किं कर्पूरचयः किमिन्दुमणयः किं मौक्तिकश्रेणय-  
स्तेषां यावदभूद्भिगाहितमतिस्तास्तावदीर्युदरीः ॥ ५६ ॥

वैद्यनाथः—

सौधश्रेष्ठतमेन्द्रमंदिरसमे संस्थः सदा पूजयन्  
स्वर्णैर्भूसुरवृन्दमादरयुतैर्यं भूहरिं मेनिरे ।  
नानाकैषविदं<sup>3</sup> कलासु कुशलं रामौघमध्यास्थितं  
क्रीडंतं रमणीयमूर्तिमनिशं कामोपमं कामुकं ॥ ५७ ॥

रूपनाथः—

नयनाश्ववर्षमवर्षी<sup>4</sup> सपालयन्  
विविधं मखं च विदधद्यान्वितः ।  
सुरलोकभोगमधिकं विचारयन्  
सुरधाम कामवशगो जगाम किं ॥ ५८ ॥

<sup>1</sup> While R. I. shows “अणीयस्य”, I. C. M. shows both the forms and “शरः” is found to be “शरं” in R. I. .

<sup>2</sup> In R. I. we read “भुवि विदधाति” for “भुवि दधाति” and the R. I. form answers the metrical requirements.

<sup>3</sup> G. C. also gives a variant of the 2nd half of the stanza as follows :—

“रामारामरणैकशूरकुशलं कंदर्पदर्पापहं

“नानामन्मथसास्त्रसारविदुषं कामोपमं कामुकम्” ॥

For our text I am inclined to take the form as “नानाकैलिविदम्” ।

<sup>4</sup> Gaḍheṣa Nṛpa Vaṇanam has “नयनत्रिवर्ष” in the place of “नयनाश्ववर्ष”. (See page 191 of N. U. J. of 1940). Our present Ms. which gives 72 years as the regnal period for Hridayesh is in agreement with the period popularly held for him.



**जयगोविन्दः—**

अभवत्सुन्दरी देवी राज्ञी तस्य महीपतेः ।  
 सौभाग्यसदनं पुण्यसंपदेव स्वरूपिणी ॥ ५९ ॥  
 'दारिद्र्यदुःखौघनदानवारिभिः  
 निरंतरप्रस्तुतदानवारिभिः ।  
 गजाघनाभाघनदानवारिभि-  
 र्यतः सदाप्ता क्षितिदानवारिभिः ॥ ६० ॥  
 अविरतसुस्रोत्तरनिबन्धवदानकृतै-  
 र्मितमवकाशमेत्यभुवनेषु गतैर्धनतां ।  
 शरादिजशीतरश्मिशत<sup>१</sup> शाध्यनिकरै-  
 र्जगति यदीयपेशलयशोभिरशोभितराम् ॥ ६१ ॥  
 दीर्घिकारामकासारप्रमुखैर्भूरिदाक्षिणैः  
 पूतैरनंतैर्या धर्मं निरंतरमपालयत् ॥ ६२ ॥  
 विष्णोः शंभोर्गणेशस्य दुर्गायास्तरणेश्वर्या ।  
 व्यधितस्थापनमिदं विधाय विबुधालयं ॥ ६३ ॥  
 तस्या स्तवायकः<sup>२</sup> शक्तः शंकरः श्रीधरादयः ।  
 सुपर्वाणोपि महता<sup>३</sup> प्रतिष्ठा प्रापता यया ॥ ६४ ॥  
 तत्र निधुकैर्विप्रैरुपरुहैरुत्सवैर्धनैरमितैः ।  
 या<sup>४</sup> सुन्दरी त्रिविक्रममुख्यान् देवान् सदाचर्याचक्रे ॥ ६५ ॥  
 हृदये श महीपालो जिगाय नितरां तया ।  
 'शक्तिः प्रकर्षक्षमया चन्द्रश्चन्द्रिकया यथा ॥ ६६ ॥

**बिष्णुकीक्षितः—**

आसिंधुविजितधरणिस्तरणिस्तेजोभिरजनितनयोऽस्य ।  
 श्रीछत्रसाहिनृपातिर्यस्य सुदृष्टिः सुरकुमवनम् ॥ ६७ ॥  
 निलीयसुप्तोपि भये प्रबोध्यते  
 सुरैः कथं जाग्रदुपैति निर्वृतिम् ।  
 हतद्विषच्छत्रपतेरतो हृदि  
 श्रिया सहाचर्यमवाप केशवः ॥ ६८ ॥

<sup>१</sup> The first line in R. I. is read to be as under :— " दारिद्र्यदुःखौघनिदानवारिभिः " ।

<sup>२</sup> R. I. has " शतसाध्यविकाशकरैः " ।

<sup>३</sup> R. I. has " स्तवाय " which does not fit in with the rules of prosody.

<sup>४</sup> All these three words in R. I. are read to be " महिताः प्रतिष्ठां प्रापिता " ।

<sup>५</sup> In the place of " सुन्दरी " we read in R. I. the word " सुन्दर " joined with the following words as " त्रिविक्रम " etc.

<sup>६</sup> Here " शक्तिः " is wrong ; it ought to be " शक्तिप्रकर्षः " as in R. I. to qualify both " हृदये श महीपालः " and " चन्द्रः " ।

गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—

पात्रं<sup>1</sup> नीत्यादिशास्त्रव्यसनभवमुदां शूरतोत्कृष्टगात्रं  
 दात्रं दुर्दृत्तृणानां क्षयरहितमथो कल्पवृक्षादयपत्रं ।  
 पुण्यं कृत्वातिमात्रं द्विजकथितमयो वर्धयामास चायुः  
 सच्छत्रं क्षत्रियाणां हृदयनरपतेर्नन्दनः छत्रसाहिः ॥ ६९ ॥  
 सुरतरु<sup>2</sup> इव भूमौ याचकेभ्यो भवयो  
 हृदयमुखदराजा घुर्घुरी ग्रामवासी ।  
 मुनिसममथराज्ये प्राप भोगं महात्मा  
 हरिपदयुगभक्तो विष्णुलोकं ततोमात् ॥ ७० ॥  
 केशरीशः<sup>3</sup> सुतस्तस्य वसुधावासवो भवत् ।  
 यशोभिर्यस्य भृत्वापि म्रियन्तेपि दिशो दश ॥ ७१ ॥  
 देयाऽशङ्कतया विधावजनियाऽप्रामाण्यशङ्कोदिता ।  
 येनाऽनेकगुणावितीर्यशमिता स्वेष्टेषु पूर्तेषु च ॥  
 एकस्तस्य निदर्श्यते क्षितिपतेः छत्रेशसूनोर्जग-  
 द्दोप्तुः केशरिसिंहनामनृपते राज्याभिषेकक्रमः ॥ ७२ ॥  
 वर्षे पृथ्वीवेदमुन्येकसंख्ये  
 फाल्गुन्यन्ते मासिपक्षे बलक्षे ।  
 एकादश्यां शुक्रवारे सुलग्ने  
 सर्वोर्वीशः केशरीन्द्रोभिषिक्तः ॥ ७३ ॥  
 सुभ्रामा बृहदुर्वरा हयवरा माघद्विपाः काञ्चनं  
 सद्रत्नारभणानि<sup>4</sup> धान्यनिचयो दास्यो शुभा धेनवः ।  
 सौवर्णाम्बरहम्बराणि विधिवत्पर्यङ्कपात्रादिकं  
 दत्तं केशरिसाहिभूमिपतिना येनैव यदांछितम् ॥ ७४ ॥

<sup>1</sup> This stanza finds in I. C. M. over stanzas Nos. 67 and 68.

<sup>2</sup> This fine stanza is of an unknown authorship and has been wrongly included under the heading "Gajendra Mokṣa" in our Ms.; but the idea developed herein is similar to the idea in stanza No. 39 in Gaḍeśa Nṛpa Varṇanam which is as follows:—

"छत्रसाहिधरणीपतिरासीत् तत्सुतो विविधयज्ञविधाता ।

सप्तवर्षमवनीं परिरक्ष्य यो जगाम सुरधाम महीयान् ॥

<sup>3</sup> The author of this like that of the previous stanza is not known and its inclusion here under G. M. is wrong. This same remark applies to the following three finely worded stanzas.

<sup>4</sup> This ought to be "सद्रत्नारभणानि", and I. C. M. gives the correct form.

**दीक्षिताशिषः—**

वृद्धि<sup>१</sup> धर्मविधौ यशस्त्रिभुवने प्रीतिर्भवानीपदे ।  
 श्रीमत्केशरिसिंहभूपतिमणेर्दीनेषु दानं दयाम् ॥  
 आरोग्यं वपुषि प्रभुत्वमखिलं क्षोणीरतिः सन्मता-<sup>२</sup>  
 वानन्त्यं पुरुषायुषे वितनुतां वेतुण्डतुण्डः सदा ॥ ७५ ॥  
 आज्ञापात्राणि यस्य क्षितिपतिनिकराश्चन्द्रिका यस्य कीर्तिः  
 कल्पाग्रियत्प्रकोपः सुरतरुविपिनं यस्य दृष्टिप्रसादः ।  
 यस्याभिप्रायसिंधुर्भुजबलधिजिता रत्नगर्भैव कोषः  
 सूर्यो यस्य प्रतापः क्षितिपकुलमणेरस्तिकस्तस्य तुल्यः ॥ ७६ ॥

**गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—**

कान्त्याकामोपमानोप्यनुपममृदुताकाम्यमानोपमेयो  
 दुष्टेभानां विमर्दे खरतरनखरः केशरीव प्रतात्<sup>३</sup> ।  
 ऐश्वर्यं देवदेवाभिलषितमधिकं दर्शयामास लोके  
 पुत्रो यः छत्रसाहेनृपमुकुटमणिः केशरीसाहिराजा ॥ ७७ ॥

**रूपनाथः—**

अभूत्केशरीसाहिसूनुस्तदंते  
 प्रकृत्या सुचारुस्त्रिवर्षं महीयान् ।  
 महीपालितामेत्य यः स्वर्गसौख्यं  
 समीहाचकारेन्द्रकल्पः<sup>४</sup> कलाढ्यः ॥ ७८ ॥  
 तत्सूनुः सप्तवर्षः प्रलकरघनाकारवंशाग्रिशत्रून्<sup>५</sup>  
 दिह्यीशोपात्तसैन्यान्निधनमपिनयन् स्वां भुवं यो बभार ॥  
 सत्यं तस्मात्सभूभृन्नरपतिभिरयं स्वं पतित्वं त्यजन्नि-  
 नित्यं चासेविसर्वैरथ तदभिधया भून्नरेन्द्रः क्षितीशः ॥ ७९ ॥

**रूपनाथः—**

नरेन्द्रसाहिर्नृपतिस्तदंते बभूवराजा पुरुहुतकल्पः ।  
 यो बालभावेन गतं हि राज्यं पुनः पुनः स्वं वशमाचकार ॥ ८० ॥  
 वेदान्धिवर्ष<sup>६</sup> परिपाल्य पृथ्वीं  
 पुत्रौ समुत्पाद्य विधाय यज्ञान् ।

<sup>१</sup> In this stanza the mistakes noticeable in this Ms. in common with I. C. M. are "प्रीति", "मणे", and "क्षोणीरति". These ought to be "प्रीति", "मणे:", "and क्षोणीरति" respectively.

<sup>२</sup> This should be "प्रतापात्" as also given in G. M.

<sup>३</sup> "हा" should be nasalised. This stanza does not occur in I. C. M.

<sup>४</sup> As supported by G. M. the word here should be "प्रलय". This stanza is from G. M. and should be classified under that heading in our M. S.

<sup>५</sup> The reading in the Ms. published by me in 1940 issue of N. U. J. is "षाण्दिवर्ष".

भुक्त्वा च भोगान् विविधान् जगाम  
सुरालयं सूर्यसमानतेजाः ॥ ८१ ॥

गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—

आसीदासीमभूमीनृपतिरथ महाराजसाहिरैर्द्व-  
पुत्रः पार्थेन तुल्यो धनुषि पितृहिते लंजिका दुर्गमातः<sup>१</sup> ।  
श्रुत्वा प्राप्तं स्तशत्रुं स्वबलमथपुरः प्रेषयित्वान्यमार्गे  
धावन्नेकः पुरस्ताद्रिपुबलमवधीक्षाम विश्राव्य बाणैः ॥ ८२ ॥

हरिदीक्षितः—

राजश्रीयुवराजराजसि<sup>२</sup> महाकालीकटाक्षोदया-  
ये याताः तवसन्मुखेऽस्त्रकुशलास्तान् हन्यसे पार्थवत् ।  
दाने कर्ण इव क्षितीशमदहा भक्तः पितू रामवद्  
रामारामविहाररामसहजो वेन्दूपमस्ते यशः ॥ ८३ ॥

गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—

श्रीमान् शस्त्रास्त्रतंत्रप्रवचनपटुताख्यात<sup>३</sup> आजानबाहु-  
स्तेजस्वी यस्य राज्ये प्रतिगृहधरणीपूर्णलक्ष्मीनिवासः ।  
चातुर्वर्ण्यप्रजानामनुपममहतो रज्जनात्सार्थनामा  
सर्वैः पूज्यो महत्त्वाद्दथ जगति महाराजसाहिक्षितीन्द्रः ॥ ८४ ॥  
शूरः सूरप्रताप<sup>४</sup> कतिचिदथ दयन् दक्षिणासैन्यपालान्  
दिल्लीशेनापि दत्तं नृपतिभिरितैर्दंडनाम्ना धनं यत् ।  
नाङ्गीकुर्वन् प्रदातुं भटपशुहननं युद्धयज्ञं विरच्य  
स्वप्राणान् दक्षिणां यो व्यतरदनुपमः पुण्यसंग्रामभूमौ ॥ ८५ ॥  
इन्द्रस्येन्द्रे पदे स्वे स्वरगमणिगवां दातृताया महस्वे  
सौंदर्ये दत्तयोर्वासपितृकयमराजस्य तेजोहमोश्च ।  
शंकात्यागस्य सत्या सुरयुवतिगणस्योत्तमेशस्य लाभे  
भूयाद्विष्णोरिवांसो यदि न नरपतिर्विष्णुलोकं गतोभूत् ॥ ८६ ॥

<sup>१</sup> All the three Mss. — G. C., I. C. M. and G. M. give this same reading as “लंजिका दुर्गमातः”, when in reality गौ must be ग; and further in the 3rd line, as different from G. C. and I. C. M., G. M. gives “स्तशत्रुं” in the place of “स्वशत्रुं”.

<sup>२</sup> “राजसि” seems to be wrong. A more correct form would be “राज्ञसि” being capable of breaking into “राट् + असि”. This whole stanza is missing from I. C. M..

<sup>३</sup> In I. C. M. and G. M. the word is “आजानबाहुः” which is a very rare form as a substitute for “आजातुबाहुः”.

<sup>४</sup> A Visarga is essential after the word “प्रताप” as we find it in I. C. M. and G. M..

रूपनाथः—

नृपालो महाराजसाहिस्तदंते सदा संगरं कर्तुंकामोत्तिकोप ।  
प्रजापालने दत्ताचित्तः सदा यो धनुर्धारणे फाल्गुनेनेव तुल्यः ॥ ८७ ॥  
द्विचंद्रवर्षमादरान्महीं शशास यो युवा ।  
जगाम रामधाम स द्रुतं रणेन शत्रुहा ॥ ८८ ॥

गजेन्द्रमोक्षः—

<sup>1</sup> नानादानप्रदानोज्झितमलधरणी प्राप्य भोक्तारमीशं  
तत्कालाकृष्टपच्या बहुसुखमसृजत्सर्वतः सुप्रजाभिः ।  
राजा राजार्चितो यः शिव इव शिवराजाह्वयो धर्मकर्मा  
भर्ता सम्मानकर्ता भुवि नृपतिमहाराजसाहेस्तनूजः ॥ ८९ ॥  
साक्षादिन्द्रः पृथिव्याश्चतुरवयवयुक् सैन्यमेघौघवाहो—  
यैकस्या राजधान्याः सहजगमनतोयः क्षणेनारिदुर्गं ।  
जित्वा कुत्वा स्वकीयं पुरपतिमचलं तत्र संस्थापयित्वा  
लोके स्वीयप्रतापाधिकतरमहिमानं स्फुटीचक्र इत्थं ॥ ९० ॥  
जंबुद्वीप<sup>2</sup> सुखप्रदक्षितिगढाभाग्याब्धिजः श्रीमहा-  
राजेंद्रामृतपूर्णदृष्टिकृपया सिक्तस्समूलः स्वयं ।  
माहिष्मत्यमरावतीमुपगतो भात्येष सर्वप्रदो  
राजा श्रीशिवराजसाहि नृपतिस्त्वं कूपकल्पद्रुमः ॥ ९१ ॥

रूपनाथः—

नरपतिशिवराजसाहिरासीदथ<sup>3</sup> जनरक्षणकीर्तिलब्धमालः ।  
धराणितलमिदं स्वधन्यमासीत् यदवनतो धनघान्यसंघपूर्णम् ॥ ९२ ॥  
परिपाल्य सधर्मतो महीं वै  
ददमानो वसु कांचनं महीं गाः ।  
प्रजपन् हरिनाम पापहारि  
गिरिवर्षं हरिलोकमाजगाम ॥ ९३ ॥  
ततो भवदुर्जनसाहिनामा  
राजातपल्लोकमहानिर्देशं यः ।

<sup>1</sup> G. M. has an additional reading "ज्ञानादान" etc. for "नानादान".

<sup>2</sup> This stanza is not to be found in G. M., but I. M. C. presents a slightly different version as follows:—

जम्बूदेशजनायराजिततपोवृद्धाब्धिजः श्रीमहा-  
राजश्रीशिवराजदेवरूपयास्वच्छाप्सुसिक्तः स्वयं ।  
माहिष्मत्यमरावतीमुपगतो भात्येष सर्वप्रदः  
भक्तेर्वश्यगमिष्वरं प्रकटयन् श्रीभीमकल्पद्रुमः ॥

<sup>3</sup> The version in I. M. C. is "—लब्धमानः," which is the same as in my published copy of Gadhega Nṛpa Varnanam.

षण्मासिकं भोगमलं प्रकुर्वन्

जगाम लोकं शशिसेषरस्य<sup>1</sup> ॥ ९४ ॥

वीक्षितः—

आयातार्थि<sup>2</sup> समुच्चराद्विधिवधू चंचन्निचोलांचलो  
क्षिप्रोक्षिप्तमरातिवृन्दनगरोद्वाहेन सांद्रीकृतं ।  
श्रीमद्वीरनिजामसिंहरणिर्दृष्ट्वा प्रतापानलं  
कृत्वा वारिदमंतरोसि समये यातीति जानीमहे ॥ ९५ ॥  
यो धृताश्मत्वाचिंतामणिरसिकुलभूरन्तत्कृष्टतेजाः  
यो यं भूलोककल्पद्रुम इति रहितस्थावरत्वो नृसिंह ।  
यः साक्षात्कामधेनुर्विरहितपशुतायश्रुतं सर्ववाचा-  
मेकत्वं नेति सिंहाय्यपदजयाचिरं श्रीनिजामेश जीव ॥ ९६ ॥  
तस्मिन्भूपे<sup>3</sup> प्रयाते हरिपदममलं दुर्जनाचारिसंज्ञं ।  
भूमेर्दुर्योगरूपं व्यरमयत महान्पूर्णयद्राजयोगः ॥  
सोयं राजाधिराजः पृथुरिव शिवराजानुजः श्रीनिजाम-  
साहिर्भाग्यं पृथिव्या नृपमुकुटमहाराजसाहेस्तनूजः ॥ ९७ ॥  
पृथ्वीं शासत्यधीशे<sup>4</sup> पितरि निजपितुर्यच्चिवर्षोपि हर्षो-  
त्कर्षाद्वर्षानाम्भो धरसमपारितः संवृणच्छनुसैन्ये ।  
गत्वा तेजो महद्वा रिपुमथ वशयन्प्राप्य सौभ्रात्रमानं  
ज्येष्ठेष्ट्रव्येषु सत्सु स्वयमधिकतपो दर्शयामास सर्वान् ॥ ९८ ॥  
कालाशापालहालाहलसमविकटाटोपनानामटाब्धौ  
संग्रामादग्रयधामाश्रितवति जनके सत्पितृव्याग्रजाभ्यां ।  
शिष्टो यो भूविशिष्टोदितसुकृतबलाद्राज्यमुद्धर्तुमिच्छन्  
शत्रुं संमोह्य बुध्या सह वसति गुणैर्भ्रातरं चक्र ईशं ॥ ९९ ॥  
साक्षाद्गच्छन्<sup>5</sup> विपच्छन् निजपतिनृपतेर्नाशमैच्छत्समच्छं  
सायंतं सैन्यवंतं गतभयमनयं तं मदांधं सबन्धुं ।  
मन्वानो हन्तुमन्या सहमहसमपि स्वाशिनासन्मुखस्थो  
हत्वा सत्त्वाधिकत्वात्पितुरनृणतया तोषयद्भ्रातरं यः ॥ १०० ॥

1 “शशिसेषरस्य” ought to be “शशिशेखरस्य” as it is in I. M. C.

2 “विधि” in the 1st line and “क्षिप्रोक्षिप्त” in the 2nd line of this stanza are found substituted by “विधु” and “क्षिप्रोक्षिप्त” respectively I. M. C.

3 From this stanza on to No. 118 the collections are from G. M., but the compiler of our M. S. does not mention in clear terms.

4 In G. M. in the place of “शासत्यधीशे” we read “शासत्यधीष्टो”.

5 “विपच्छन्” and “स्वाशिनासन्मुखस्थो” occurring in this stanza are found in G. M. as “विपक्षे” and “स्वाशिनासन्मुखस्थो”.

रामाणामादिकामः शरणगतनृपारामविश्रामधाम  
 शत्रूणां कालवामः प्रकटसुरनगः पूरितात्यर्थिकामः ।  
 भूपानां मौलिदामस्वजनाहितगुणग्रामभूपालरामः  
 साक्षादाकार<sup>१</sup> धर्मः स्फुरति जगति यो राजराट् श्रीनिजामः॥१०१॥  
 आत्तं<sup>२</sup> सर्वैरखर्वैः प्रतिजनसदनं देहलीदण्डवित्तं  
 सन्मत्या तद्विहत्याधिकसुकृतसमाधानकृत्या विहत्या ।  
 स्वच्छं रत्नं सुभिक्षं सुतनयसदृशं दर्शयामास यस्यां  
 नैतादृशत्नगर्भा क्वचिदपि सुखदा तेन सत्योवनीशः ॥ १०२ ॥  
 गांभीर्यं सद्भिचार्यं स्फुटविजयशसो<sup>३</sup> मुद्रणात्किं समुद्रो  
 यस्याक्षामां क्षमां किं स्थिरपतिमकरोद्यं क्षमानन्ययोग्या ।  
 औदार्यं यस्य पश्यन् स्वयमगमगतेः कल्पनाकल्पवृक्षो<sup>४</sup>  
 रक्षोयक्षोरगादिस्त्रसति<sup>५</sup> वचनतो वच्मि किं तस्य वीर्यं ॥१०३॥  
 शूरामित्रप्रताप<sup>६</sup> प्रसरदसहसामश्यन्सशूरो  
 मित्रीभूयापि योन्तर्ज्वालिततमद्भुदा भ्रान्त एवाम्बुलीनः ।  
 पश्चाच्छीतान्तरः सन्पुनरुदयामितः पूर्ववत्तप्त आसी-  
 द्बन्धुत्वं नीरजानामधिकमुदभवत्सर्वमन्यतथैव ॥ १०४ ॥  
 माहिष्मत्यमरावतीव सुखदा भात्यन्नपूर्णा क्षितौ  
 यत्पौरा धनधान्यसंततिमहानंदाब्धिभग्नाः समाः ।  
 यत्रालीकविलापलोलपितं कर्णे श्रुतं नानयं  
 श्रीमद्वीरनिजामसाहिनुपतेः पुण्यप्रतापोदयात् ॥ १०५ ॥  
 यत्कर्तृस्त्रसन्मूर्तिर्विधुरापिमृगयाक्रीडनासक्तचित्तं  
 (रा)जानं किं तु जानन्मृगमथपुरतोङ्के समादाय तुष्ट्यै ।  
 दातुं धैर्यात्समुद्यत् पुनरधिकभयाद्विद्रुतोऽस्तं क्षयेणा-  
 प्यायेत्थं नित्यकृत्या विरत<sup>६</sup> उदये तन्मृगाङ्कः प्रसिद्धः ॥ १०६ ॥  
 अत्रत्यैश्वर्यमत्तो बहुविधबलयक् शत्रुसैर्यं च कर्षन्  
 दुष्कर्मास्वाभिधर्मापनयननयनो राज्यमूलं बिभित्सन् ।  
 राज्ञो भूत्वा द्वितीयः समरमयचयत् स्वेशसेनां च जेतुं  
 तं दुष्टाजीतसिंहं धृतमिव पशुमा रंजधान प्रतापी ॥ १०७ ॥

१ In G. M. we read आकारिधर्मः ” ।

२ From this stanza onwards pages in I. M. C. are missing.

३ “स्फुटविजयशो” is found in G. M. to be “स्फुटनिजयशसो” and “कल्पना-  
कल्पवृक्षो” as “कल्पनाकल्पवृक्षो”.

४ This is according to G. M. “पश्यन्”.

The words from here to the end of the line are according to G. M.  
“प्रसरदसहसामश्यपश्यन्सशूरो”.

५ “विरत उदये” should be “विरमत उदये” as per G. M. ,

स्वांतायस्वांतानिष्ठं समभिलषति यो यस्य दुष्टोप्यनिष्ठं  
सोक्ष्णीणः तत्क्षणेन क्षयमथ समुपेत्यक्षयायप्रतापात् ।  
तस्यास्याश्वाधिरूढस्य च बलसहितस्याग्रतस्तिष्ठतोरिः  
कस्तिष्ठेत्संप्रविष्टे श्रुतिषु काठिन्यद्वन्दुभिर्प्रौढशब्दे ॥ १०८ ॥

दृष्टुं किं यस्य देवांशमयतनुबलं देवभूसेविदृश्यं  
साक्षात्सिंहं गजादं जगदवमतये प्रेषयद्देववर्गः ।  
आरुह्यैवेभनाथं निजगतहतये धावमानं प्रगर्जं  
तं हत्वा पातययः स सटसितहरेश्चर्मं सर्वप्रमाणम् ॥ १०९ ॥

व्याघ्रादिवन्यवर्गो बहुविधमृगयाखेलनेनापि येन  
नागे चागे रथेश्वे द्रुतशालिलं च लज्जाविभूमी स्थितं ।  
शस्त्रैः पृथक्किं नरजगदुदितो हन्यते गण्यसंख्य-  
स्तस्माद्दुष्टो वनानि त्यजति नहि यतः खेलनं दुष्टहत्या ॥ ११० ॥

यस्याश्वानां स्वरूपं प्रकटप्रथुतरं वेगमत्तामहत्तां  
दृष्ट्वावातोथ चेतः खगवरगरुडः स्वीयगत्यां विहीनाः ।  
सर्वे किं स्वस्ववृत्तौ व्यदधत सदुपायं तदानीमदृश्यो  
वायुः सूक्ष्मं मनोपि प्रभुचरणतले संगतः पक्षिराजः ॥ १११ ॥

यद्धर्मोद्भक्तदान्तिस्फुटरणविकटप्रौढरूपं समीक्ष्य  
येऽष्टावैरावतायास्तनुतनुवलतस्तोहि भीता विलीनाः ।  
अत्र ब्रूमः प्रमाणं सुरपतिरथयत्प्रीतिकामः स्वनाग-  
मप्राप्यान्वेषितं किं रचयति घनमारुह्यकाले<sup>१</sup> स्ववृष्टिं ॥ ११२ ॥

देवाभेदेन सेवामनिशमथ चरन्विष्णुसूर्याम्बिकेश-  
हेरम्बानां विशेषाज्जनयति महतीं कार्त्तवीर्यस्य भक्तिं ।  
नित्ये दीपोत्सवाद्यैः दृढतममनसा शुद्धया श्रद्धया यः  
साक्षान्माहिष्मतीशः प्रकटयितुमथो पूर्ववत्स्वप्रतापम् ॥ ११३ ॥

किं ब्रूमो स्यात्रभूमोदितसुकृतमहो येन संतोष्य रेवां  
यद्वासेन स्वदंडानुगमितधनुराकारवारित्रिभागे ।  
तुयं भागं स्वदुर्गे धरणिजलचलत्पूरमौर्वीप्रपूर्णं  
कृत्वा किं मंडलाभे पुलिनशरपथाकारिसन्मार्गसर्गः ॥ ११४ ॥

प्राप्तादान्सप्रसादान् व्यरचयदथयान्दं व राजालयस्य-  
शोभां दातुं किमुच्चान्दतबहुरचनाविश्वकर्मोरुगवान् ।

<sup>१</sup> Here the word “शालिल” ought to be apparently “सलिल”.

<sup>२</sup> G. M. gives “सुवृष्टि”.



तेष्वेकादशग्रहे बहुलमाणलश<sup>1</sup> द्वर्णसिंहासनस्थः  
 स्वीयैः सभ्यैरनेकास्त्रिदशपतिसभादर्शयामास सेशाः ॥११५॥  
 नासत्यो यं स्वतन्वा यदि सुराभिषजौ तर्हि नासत्यरूपौ  
 स्त्रीणौ<sup>2</sup> सर्वाङ्गकामो यमिहकिमुरते रङ्गहीनोपिकामः ।  
 श्रीशेनास्मिन्निजामासकलतनुविधौ यत्प्रदत्तास्त्यलोला  
 साक्षात्श्रीमाञ्जिजामाभिध इति जगदानन्दः किं स कृष्णः ॥११६॥  
 यत्सेवां चंद्रमाः किं मुखदहिमकरैर्लम्बमानैः समंतात्  
 कर्तुं नित्यं दिनादौ स्वयमुपरि वसत्यात्मना छत्ररूपी ।  
 संध्यायामाज्ञयासौ भूतक इव ग्रहे सङ्गतस्तद्बृहिण्या  
 रात्र्या विश्रान्त एवं पुनरपि च तथा तयशो वर्णयेत्कः ॥११७॥  
 यस्यानन्तानुकम्पा जगदुदयकरापालनं कर्म यस्या  
 यलक्ष्मीसत्कटाक्षात्प्रभवति महती राज्यसाम्राज्यसम्पत् ।  
 यस्यांशेनाश्वनीशेश्वरवपुर्दयत्यन्वयं वर्द्धयन् स  
 श्रीशस्तं श्रीनिजामं नृपमवतु चिरंजीवनं पुत्रपौत्रैः ॥११८॥  
 रसेभचन्द्र(र?)<sup>3</sup> वत्सरे नभस्य शुक्लपक्षके  
 तिथौ स्मरस्य ज्ञे दिने गढाधराधवो भवत् ।  
 निजामसाहिदेवभूपमालपादधृष्टको  
 नृपेन्द्रचिह्नभूषितः सुशस्त्रशास्त्रकोविदः ॥११९॥  
 सहस्रबाहुसेवकोरिवृंदहारको द्विजा-  
 र्चकोहरात्मजा पदारविंदस्वदृपदः ।  
 अजातशत्रुरर्कताप<sup>4</sup> रिंदुकीर्तिदिग्गत-

1 "लशद्वर्ण" ought to be "लसद्वर्ण".

We find an additional stanza at the foot of the page where No. 115 occurs :—

“ किं कर्णः स तु कर्ण एव विदितो राजाबलिः किं पुनः  
 सोपि श्रीपत्तिना स्वागतलतो लोकादधस्तात्कृतः  
 तस्माद्वै नरमाधवेन भवता यस्मिन्निजामार्पिता  
 तं प्रेक्ष्य स्वनिजामसाहिनृमार्णं वक्ष्यापरे किं नृपाः ॥

The last two lines of this stanza may be compared with the last lines of stanza No. 116 of our Ms.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. gives “सर्वाङ्गकामो”.

<sup>3</sup> This stanza again is of an unknown authorship. So also the two following stanzas. But I am inclined to believe that they can be from the smooth pen of Rup Nath.

<sup>4</sup> This should be read as “इंदु”.

श्वकार राज्यमीप्सितं हयाश्विवत्सरामितं ॥ १२० ॥  
 महाधिराजराट् सुरेशभोगभोगयुक्क्रमे-  
 शलोकवासजाप्रपूर्वसौख्यमिच्छयन् ।  
 गजादिदानभिर्द्विजान् सुतोष्य यो मुहुर्मुहु-  
 निजामसाहिदेववत् जगाम विष्णुमंदिरं ॥ १२१ ॥

रूपनाथः—

निजामसाहि भू(प ?)पतिर्बभूव तत्पितृव्यकः ।  
 समस्तकार्यकोविदः प्रजाप्रियः प्रतापवान् ॥ १२२ ॥  
 यः साहिचिन्हं सकलं व्यधत्  
 महायशः<sup>१</sup> साहासिकोऽप्रमादी ।  
 आखेटकी यंत्रविमोक्षदक्षः  
 कृपाणयुद्धे नकुलेन तुल्यः ॥ १२३ ॥  
 यस्य प्रयाणे गजवाजिवृंदे-  
 रुत्थापितो रेणुरनंतमार्गे ।  
 प्रभावमंत्राध्यवसायशक्ते-  
 रंतर्द्धावर्कमयूरवजालं ॥ १२४ ॥  
 नरहरिसाहिमहीपः कृत्वा राज्यं च पञ्चवर्षाणि ।  
 सततं कुमंत्रसेवी<sup>२</sup> राज्यभ्रष्टो बभूवाशु ॥ १२५ ॥  
 सुमेरसाहिर्नृपतिर्बभूव  
 भुक्त्वा त्रिवर्षं क्षितिमंडलं तत् ।  
 भ्रष्टो निकामं गतवान् समुद्रं  
 पुनः प्रपेदे हरिमंदिरं सः ॥ १२६ ॥  
 इति गढेशनृपवर्णनसंग्रहश्लोकसंपूर्णं ॥

<sup>१</sup> This should be read as "महाशयः".

<sup>२</sup> Gadheṣa Nṛpa Varṇanam gives "कुमंत्रसेवी" in the place of this form.

METRES OCCURRING IN THE TEXT OF  
GADHEṢA-NRPA-VARNANA-SAMGRAH-ŚLOKĀH

Serial No.	Name of Metre	Nos. indicating the stanzas
1	Puspitāgrā	1, 28, 31, 92.
2	Śārdūlvikrīḍita	2, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 35, 39, 42, 49, 51, 52, 56, 57, 72, 74, 75, 83, 91, 95, 105.
3	Mālini	3, 5, 6, 7, 26, 30, 33, 41, 70.
4	Avitathā	4, 61.
5	Upajāti	9, 23, 123, 126.
6	Indravajrā	10, 22, 24, 25, 27, 34, 43, 81, 91, 124.
7	Upendravajrā	12, 17, 18, 54, 80.
8	Anuṣṭubh	16, 19, 59, 62, 63, 64, 71.
9	Sragdharā	20, 29, 32, 36, 37, 40, 44, 46, 47, 48, 69, 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118.
10	Āryā	21, 65, 66, 67, 125.
11	Svāgatā	38.
12	Pañcacāmara	45, 88, 119, 120, 121, 122.
13	Pramitākṣarā	50.
14	Aupacchandasika	53, 55.
15	Mañjubhāṣiṇi	58.
16	Varnśastha	60, 68.
17	Śālīni	73.
18	Bhujāṅgaprayāta	78, 87.
19	Mālabhāriṇi	93.

# “ THE MEASURE OF BRAHMĀNANDA AND THE LOCATION OF DEVALOKA ”

BY

R. D. KARMARKAR

Ancient Indian philosophers all agree in saying that Mokṣa or salvation consists of being very intimately associated with, or being merged into, the Highest called Brahman or by some other name, and that it connotes the acme of joy or bliss. Attempts were also made early enough to give some idea about the magnitude of this joy. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa XIV-7-1-31-39 which is the same as the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad IV-3-33-39, and Taittirīya 2-8, give interesting details in this connection. A comparison of the two passages is made in this paper, and some legitimate conclusions are set forth as arising out of such a study.

Both the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Taittirīya first give an idea of the unit of measure they propose to make use of in measuring the Brahmānanda. The unit is the मानुषानन्द, the joy of human beings.

According to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka,<sup>1</sup> the unit is the joy felt by a man who is the most affluent and prosperous (राद्धः, समृद्धः), the Lord of men (अधिपतिः) and most endowed with all human objects of enjoyment. The Taittirīya<sup>2</sup> gives a more elaborate and detailed description of the मानुषानन्द which is the joy felt by a young man, a godly (साधु) young man (or a young man in full vigour) learned, most sharp (आशिष्ठः), most determined or strong-willed (इष्टिष्ठ) and most powerful, holding sway over the whole of this earth replete with all kinds of wealth.

<sup>1</sup> स यो मनुष्याणां राद्धः समृद्धो भवत्यन्येषामधिपतिः सर्वैर्मानुष्यकैर्भोगैः संपन्न-  
तमः स मनुष्याणां परम आनन्दः ( Brha. IV-3-33 )

<sup>2</sup> युवा स्यात्साधुयुवाऽध्यायकः । आशिष्ठो दृढिष्ठो बलिष्ठः । तस्येयं पृथिवी सर्वा  
वित्तस्य पूर्णा स्यात् । स एको मानुष आनन्दः ॥ ( Taitti. 2.8.1 )

With this unit of measure fixed up, both the versions give the succeeding steps which we give below in parallel columns for facility of comparison.

**Brhadāranyaka.**

- 1 100 मातृषानन्दाः=पितृणां जितलो-  
कानाम् आनन्दः
- 2 100 पितृणां जितलोकानाम्=गन्धर्व-  
आनन्दाः लोक  
आनन्दः
- 3 100 गन्धर्वलोक आनन्दाः = कर्म-  
देवानाम् आनन्दः
- 4 100 कर्मदेवानाम् आनन्दाः=आजान-  
देवानाम् आनन्दः (also  
यश्च ओत्रियोऽहजिनोऽ-  
कामहतः तस्य )
- 5 100 आजानदेवानाम् = प्रजापति-  
लोक  
आनन्दाः आनन्दः (also  
यश्च ओत्रियो etc.)
- 6 100 प्रजापतिलोक = ब्रह्मलोक  
आनन्दाः आनन्दः  
(also यश्च ओत्रियो  
etc.) ब्रह्मलोकः is  
the परम आनन्दः

So ब्रह्मानन्द is ( 100 )<sup>6</sup>  
1000000000000 (12 dots)  
times मातृषानन्द.

**Taittiriya**

- मनुष्यगन्धर्वाणाम् ( also ) ओत्रि-  
यस्य चाकामहतस्य ) 1
- देवगन्धर्वाणाम् ( also ओत्रियस्य  
etc. ) 2..
- त्रिरलोकलोकानां पितृणाम् ( also  
ओत्रियस्य etc. ) 3
- आजानजानां देवानाम् ( also ओत्रि-  
यस्य etc. ) 4
- कर्मदेवानाम् ( ये कर्मणा  
देवानपियन्ति ) ( also  
ओत्रियस्य etc. ) 5
- देवानाम् ( also ओत्रियस्य etc. ) 6
- इन्द्रस्य ( also ओत्रियस्य etc. ) 7
- बृहस्पतेः ( also ओत्रियस्य etc. ) 8
- प्रजापतेः ( also ओत्रियस्य etc. ) 9
- ब्रह्मणः ( also ओत्रियस्य etc. ) 10

N. B.— Each succeeding  
unit is 100 times  
the preceding unit

ब्रह्मणः ( or ब्रह्मलोके आनन्दः )  
आनन्द is ( 100 )<sup>10</sup>

1000000000000000000000000  
( 20 dots )

times मातृषानन्द.

It is clear from the above that the Taittiriya version is later and is amplified in the interests of a ओत्रिय.

( 1 ) In the Br., the Brahmananda is the 6th step from मातृषानन्द ; in the Taitti. it is the 10th.

( 2 ) The ओत्रिय is mentioned in the Br. at the 4th step, his आनन्द being equated with the आनन्द of the आजानदेवः; in the Taitti. the ओत्रिय is mentioned right from the beginning to the end. Both the versions bring in the ओत्रिय with each higher step after he has been brought into the picture once. Surely if the आनन्द

of the ओत्रिय is equal to the आनन्द in the Brahmaloṅka or the परमानन्द, there was no need to emphasise that his आनन्द was equal to the आनन्द experienced in the lower stages : the larger automatically includes the smaller. The Br. first mentions the ओत्रिय as being equal to the gods, while the Taṛitti. takes pains to emphasise his importance at every stage quite unnecessarily.

(3) The Br. locates the आनन्द in the गन्धर्वलोक, प्रजापतिलोक and ब्रह्मलोक and remarks in the end. एष एव परम आनन्द एव ब्रह्मलोकः सन्नादः ; while according to the Taṛitti. the आनन्द belongs to गन्धर्वs, प्रजापति and ब्रह्मन्.

(4) The Br. does not mention इन्द्र and बृहस्पति at all.

(5) The Taṛitti. makes two divisions of गन्धर्वs and three of the देवs, and places the पितृs above the गन्धर्वs and आजानजदेवs below the कर्मदेवs.

There is thus no doubt that the Taṛitti. version is later than the Br., showing distinct traces of influence of Purāṇic ideas and growing importance of Brahmanism.

We shall now make an attempt to trace the development of the hierarchy given above right up to Brahman. The description of the migration of the Soul by the Pitryāṇa and the Devayāṇa described in the upaniṣads and the belief in the existence of the seven higher worlds, भूः भुवः स्वः, महः, जनः, तपः and सत्यं, appear to be the source of the idea about the different magnitudes of आनन्द in different places. Thus :—

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| (1) भूः   | obviously refers to मानुषानन्द  |
| (2) भुवः  | refers to (1) मनुष्यगन्धर्व   |
|           | (2) देवगन्धर्व  |
|           | (3) पितृs   |
| (3) स्वः  | refers to (1) आजानजदेवs   |
|           | (2) कर्मदेवs  |
|           | (3) देवs  |
| (4) महः   | refers to इन्द्र ( who really ought to be in the स्वर्ग-<br>लोक to rule over it ) |
| (5) जनः   | refers to बृहस्पति as the preceptor of इन्द्र must be<br>in a superior world      |
| (6) तपः   | „ „ प्रजापति who is so many times described<br>as having performed तपस्           |
| (7) सत्यं | „ „ ब्रह्मन् or ब्रह्मलोक.  |

Some such arrangement has to be resorted to, in order to equate the seven worlds with those in the Br. version. The order of the worlds is given differently in Br. III-6 in the dialogue between Gārgī and Yājñavalkya,

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| (1) This world     |   |
| (2) आपः            | Here there are only two steps           |
| (3) वायुः          | between देवलोक and ब्रह्मलोक            |
| (4) अन्तरिक्षलोकाः | (लोक is used throughout in the          |
| (5) गन्धर्वलोकाः   | plural), and आदित्य, चन्द्र and नक्षत्र |
| (6) आदित्यलोकाः    | are put in between गन्धर्वलोक and       |
| (7) चन्द्रलोकाः    | देवलोक.                                 |
| (8) नक्षत्रलोकाः   |   |
| (9) देवलोकाः       | 9-12 correspond to 6-10 of the          |
| (10) इन्द्रलोकाः   | Taittirīya, where बहस्पति is the        |
| (11) प्रजापतिलोकाः | only addition made.                     |
| (12) ब्रह्मलोकाः   |   |

In connection with the passage of the soul after death, the Kauṣītaki<sup>1</sup> first says that all who depart from this world go to the moon, and the path taken by those who follow the Devayāna is as follows :—

अग्निलोक-वायुलोक-वरुणलोक-आदित्यलोक-इन्द्रलोक-प्रजापतिलोक-ब्रह्मलोक. The last three steps are the same as given in the Taittirīya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka as given above.

Some interesting points arise out of this description :—

(1) Gandharvas are divided into two classes by the Taittirīya (1) मनुष्यगन्धर्व and (2) देवगन्धर्व. What is the exact connotation of these terms?

(2) The गन्धर्वलोक is placed below the पितृलोक by the Taittirīya while according to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka it is above the पितृलोक which is immediately above the मनुष्यलोक.

(3) The पितृs are described as जितलोक by the Br. and चिरलोकलोक by the Taittirīya.

(4) देवs are divided into two classes, (1) कर्मदेवs and (2) आजान-देवs by the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and into three classes (1) आजानजदेवs, (2) कर्मदेवs and (3) देवs by the Taittirīya, which also places the कर्मदेवs above the आजानज (or आजान) देवs who according to the Br. are

superior to कर्मदेवसः. What does the expression आजानज ( or आजान ) देव exactly mean ?

It would not be fair to regard all the different Lokas mentioned above as fictitious. Passages like

देवा मनुष्याः पितरस्तेऽन्यत आसन्नसुरा रक्षांसि पिशाचास्तेऽन्यतः

( Taittirīyaśamhitā II-iv-1 )

देवाः पितरो मनुष्यास्तेऽन्यत आसन्नसुरा रक्षांसि पिशाचा अन्यतः ।

... अथ ह कलयो गन्धर्वा अन्तस्थां चेरुर्नेतराज्जतरानाद्रियमाणाः ।

... देवलोकमेव देवा अभजन्त पितृलोकं पितरो मनुष्यलोकं मनुष्याः

( Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa I. 154-7 )

clearly show that Devas, Pitrs, Manuṣyas, Gandharvas had their own separate habitat and were generally friendly with one another, while Asuras, Rakṣases, Piśācas formed a hostile group, living in their own fixed territories. It is these well-known original abodes of Devas, Gandharvas and Pitrs that are undoubtedly referred to in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Taittirīya passages. The Amarakośa<sup>1</sup> calls the Gandharvas Devayoni ( the Piśācas and Rakṣases are also included in this category ) which shows their close association with the Devas. It is also significant that the Asuras, Dānavas etc. are called Pūrvadevas<sup>2</sup> ( who had been Devas before or the original Devas ). It may therefore be conceded that the different Lokas mentioned in the upaniṣadic passages, were the original abodes of divine and semi-divine beings to which people on the earth looked up with admiration, as being associated with greater bliss.

It has been already stated that the Taittirīya mentions two divisions of Gandharvas—Manuṣyagandharvas and Devagandharvas. Both of them apparently stay in one and the same Gandharvaloka. Manuṣyagandharvas are those who have attained to the state of Gandharvas through sacrificial rites and

<sup>1</sup> विद्याधराऽप्सरोयक्षरक्षोगन्धर्वकिन्नराः ।

• पिशाचो गुह्यकः सिद्धो भूतोऽग्नी देवयोनयः ॥ ( Amara 1-11 )

<sup>2</sup> असुरा दैत्यदैतेयदनुजेन्द्रारिदानवाः ।

शुक्रशिष्या दितिसुताः पूर्वदेवाः सुरद्विषः ॥ ( Amara 1-12 )



knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Such a division is unknown to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and seems to be first thought out by the *Taittirīya* on the analogy of the *Karmadevas*. If one could become a *Deva* through *karman*, one ought to surely, if one chooses, be able to become a semi-divine being—*Gandharva*—with the same means on a lower scale—that seems to be the argument weighing with the *Taittirīya* writer. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* rightly puts the *Pitṛs* below the *Gandharvas*, as the *Pitṛs* are not *Devayonis*, but mere allies of the *Devas* and so must be regarded as inferior to all those directly connected with the *Devas*. The *Taittirīya* places the *Pitṛs* above the *Gandharvas*, to boast the efficacy of the sacrificial *karman* which enables a person to go by the *Pitṛyāna* to a higher world. The *Gandharvaloka* is now identified with the adjoining regions on the southern slopes of the *Himālayas*.

The *Pitṛs* are spoken of as *जितलोक* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and as *चिरलोकलोक* in the *Taittirīya*. Śāṅkara explains the expression *जितलोकानां* as *आद्धादिकर्मभिः पितृस्तोषयित्वा तेन कर्मणा जितो लोको येषां ते जितलोकाः पितरस्तेषां पितृणां जितलोकानां ...* and *चिरलोकलोकानां* as *चिरकालस्थायी लोको येषां पितृणां ते चिरलोकलोका इति* । This does not seem to be a satisfactory explanation. First, Śāṅkara has to take *लोक* to mean *पितृलोक*, and secondly we apparently have to distinguish between *पितृs* who are entitled to reach the *लोक* and those who are not. All this is hardly warranted by the expression *जितलोकानां पितृणां* which simply means 'of the *Pitṛs* inhabiting the *जितलोक*'. The expression *चिरलोकलोकानां* *पितृणां* similarly should mean 'of the *Pitṛs* inhabiting the worlds called *चिरलोक*' or 'of the *Pitṛs* inhabiting the (*चिर*) long-enduring *लोकलोक*'. Śāṅkara's explanation *चिरकालस्थायी* (which apparently is the explanation of *चिर*) *लोको येषां* completely ignores the second *लोक* word. Could it be that the *पितृलोक* was at some time called by some name of which *जितलोक* or *चिरलोक*, are Sanskritised forms? Is *लोकलोक* in some way connected with the *लोकालोक* mountain? Further investigation is necessary before

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मनुष्याः सन्तः कर्मविद्याविशेषाद्गन्धर्वत्वं प्राप्ता मनुष्यगन्धर्वाः । ... देवगन्धर्वा जातित एव । Śāṅkarabhāṣya on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*

these queries can be satisfactorily answered. The passage पितृणामयमा चास्मि in the Bhagavadgītā probably suggests that अयमन् was the original ruler of the पितृलोक.

The Brhadāranyaka mentions two kinds of Devas, Karmadevas and Ājānadevas; the Taittirīya gives three divisions, Ājānadevas, Karmadevas and Devas, and makes the Karmadevas superior to the Ājānadevas who, according to the Brhadāranyaka, are identical with the Devas proper. Now who are the Ājāna ( or Ājānaja ) devas and which is their proper Loka ? Śāṅkara explains Ājānadevas as Devas who are so right from their birth,<sup>1</sup> and Ājānadevas<sup>2</sup> as those that are born in Ājāna (meaning Devaloka), owing to their having to their credit performance of special karman sanctioned by the Smṛtis; Karmadevas as those who become one with gods, through the Agnihotra rites sanctioned by the Vedas; and Devas as the thirty-three recipients of oblations offered in the sacrifice ( 12 Ādityas, 11 Rudras, 8 Vasus, Indra and Prajāpati ). There is no doubt that the explanation of Ājāna as the name of Devaloka, given in the Taittirīya-bhāṣya by Śāṅkara is the correct one. This Ājāna must have also been the original habitat of the Devas or the Pūrvadevas. We suggest that Ājāna should be equated with the Agean region near about Greece. One stock of Devas migrated towards Greece and later came to be called Dānavas ( the Greeks refer to an ancient King Danaus after whom they came to be called Danaī ) and it is this historical fact that is conveyed by the word Ājāna. The Mahābhārata ( Sabhā 45-9 Critical edition ) contains the expression आजानेया बहन्ति त्वां ... Devabodha explains आजानेयाः as साधुवाहिनीः<sup>3</sup>; Amara says आजानेयाः कुलीनाः स्युः,<sup>3</sup> apparently deriving the word from जन्,

<sup>1</sup> आजानन्त एवोत्पत्तिर्ये देवास्त आजानदेवाः ( Brhadāranyakabhāṣya )

<sup>2</sup> आजान इति देवलोकस्तस्मिन्नाजाने जाता आजानजा देवाः स्मार्तकर्मविशेषतो देवस्थानेषु जाताः । कर्मदेवा ये वैदिकेन कर्मणाऽभिहोत्रादिना केवलेन देवानपियन्ति । देवा इति त्रयस्त्रिंशद्विर्भुजः । इन्द्रस्तेषां स्वामी तस्याचार्यो बृहस्पतिः ।

( Taittirīyabhāṣya )

<sup>3</sup> The full passage is आजानेयाः कुलीनाः स्युर्विनीताश्च साधुवाहिनिः । विनीत is generally taken to mean a horse who is साधुवाहिन्; according to

and explaining the word as 'horses of a good breed'. If what we have suggested above is correct, आजानेय should mean 'Born and bred in the Ājana country'. Alexander was famous for his cavalry and the Indians had actually come into contact with his fine horses when Alexander invaded India. The use of the word आजानेय in the Mahābhārata is thus an additional argument to show that Ājana was a real country known to Indians before 300 B. C. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (V. 4-3)<sup>1</sup> refers to the ancient name of Bhārata as Ajanābha which may literally mean 'Similar to Ajana'. Is there any reminiscence of the old Ājana country of the Devas in the appellation Ajanābha? There is nothing improbable about it.

The Bṛhadāranyaka passage does not refer to Indra and Bṛhaspati, as Indra, being the Lord of the Gods, need not have a separate Loka for himself; similarly Bṛhaspati was just the Purohita of the Gods. The Taittirīya under the influence of priestly and Purāṇic notions allows independent Lokas for both Indra and Bṛhaspati.

Prajāpatiloka and Brahmaloka, in all probability are some ancient territories to the north of the Himalayas in central Asia. It is not easy to identify them correctly.

To summarise, the Bṛhadāranyaka passage does refer to actual Lokas, the ancient abodes of the people named, and the Taittirīya has simply elaborated the contents of the Bṛhadāranyaka in order to make them conform to the prevailing notions about the persons concerned.

( continued from the previous page )

Devabodha, आजानेय appear to be कुलीन, विनी and साधुवाहिन्; विनीत is not regarded as a separate name for a horse by Devabodha. क्षीरस्वामिन् explains आजानेयाः as आजेन क्षेपेणानेयाः; आयत्ता इत्यर्थः; the शब्दकल्पद्रुम quotes अश्वतम्व as follows:— अकिमिर्मिन्नहृदयाः स्तलन्तोऽपि पदे पदे । आजानन्ति यतः संज्ञामाजानेयास्ततः स्मृताः ॥ All these attempts to derive आजानेय appear to us to be wide of the mark.

<sup>1</sup> तस्य हीन्द्रः स्पर्धमानो भगवान्वर्षे न बवर्ष तद्वधार्थं भगवानृषभदेवो योगेश्वरः प्रहस्यात्मयोगमायया स्ववर्षमजनाभं नामाभ्यवर्षत् (V. 4-3).

## MISCELLANEA

### AŚVAGHOṢA'S PHILOSOPHY

BY

B. C. LAW

Aśvaghōṣa, who was not only a poet but also a dramatist and a teacher. He was a contemporary of the great Kuṣāṇa king Kaniska. He flourished later than Vālmiki to whom he refers as the *ādikavi* and *dhīmān*, and was earlier than Kalidāsa and Bhāsa. I should like to say a few words about his philosophy.

The Four Noble Truths form the main burden of his interpretation of Buddhism. Disease, decay and death are the unavoidable accidents of individual life, which has its beginning in birth. Old age, disease and death are the great dangers of this world. According to Aśvaghōṣa, there is suffering which is continuous and whose essence is affliction; there is the cause of suffering whose essence is origination; there is the destruction of suffering whose essence is escape, and there is the path to tranquillity whose essence is rescuing.

*Vādhātmaṃ duḥkhamidaṃ*

*prasaktaṃ duḥkhasya hetuḥ prabhuvātmako'yaṃ ।*

*Duḥkhakṣayo nīhsaraṇātmaṃko'yaṃ*

*trāṇātmaṃko'yaṃ praśamāya mārگاḥ ॥*

Suffering has its origin in mind and body (*duḥkhaṃ tathā cittaśūrirayoni*). The cessation of suffering proceeds from exhaustion of the cause. Nirvāṇa is the state in which there is neither birth, old age, death, disease nor contact with what is unpleasant, neither failure of wishes nor separation from the pleasant, which is peaceful, final and imperishable.

*Yasminna jātirna jarā na mṛtyurna vyādhayo nāpriyasaṃ-*

*prayogaḥ ।*

*Necchāvipanna priyaviprayogaḥ kṣemaṃ padaṃ naiṣṭikama-*

*cyutaṃ tat ॥*

• Just as a lamp which is extinguished does not depart to the earth or the sky, or any of the quarters or intermediate quarters, but from exhaustion of the oil merely goes out, so the saint who has reached *nirvāṇa* does not depart to the earth or the sky, or any of the quarters, but from the extinction of the sins merely goes to peace.

*Dīpo yathā nirvṛtimabhyupeto naivāvanīm gacchati nāntarikṣaṃ ।  
 Diśaṃ na kāñcidvidiśaṃ na kāñcit snehaksayāt kevalameti  
 śāntim ॥*

*Evam kṛtī nirvṛtimabhyupeto naivāvanīm gacchati nāntarikṣaṃ ।  
 Diśaṃ na kāñcidvidiśaṃ na kāñcit kleśaksayāt kevalameti  
 śāntim ॥*

The means to attain this end is the noble and straight path with its three divisions and eight steps. By entering on this path one eliminates the faults which are the causes of suffering and reaches the supremely blessed stage.

*Triskandametaṃ pravigāhya mārgaṃ  
 praspastamaśṭāṅgaṃ mahāryamāryaṃ ।  
 Duḥkhasya hetunprajahāti doṣān  
 prāpnoti cātūyantaśīvaṃ padaṃ tat ॥*

He, who perceives suffering as it really is, its origin and its cessation, attains peace by the Noble Path. In the first truth we should think of suffering as disease; in the second, of the faults as the cause of disease; in the third, of the cessation of suffering as good health, and in the fourth, of the path as the medicine.

As long as this saṃsāra, which is nothing but the gliding of individuals in the cycle of repeated births and deaths continues, being led by craving which is rooted in ignorance, so long continue the calamities of many kinds. The bodily existence is attended with disease, decay and death, hunger and thirst, heat and cold, while the existence of mind involves suffering, such as grief, dejection, anger, and fear. Suffering is the fate of corporeality. It is *Nirvāṇa* that stands in contrast to the world. *Nirodha*, *nirmokṣa*, *nirvṛti* and *nirveda* are its different synonyms. *Nirvāṇa* is the blissful, peaceful element - the refuge which is free from the passion of craving. The Noble Eightfold Path which is the sure way to *Nirvāṇa* is just another name for the Middle Path which discards the two extreme courses of life, one consisting in the practice of self-mortification, and the other in a free indulgence in sensual pleasures. Neither of them affords us the way to the highest wisdom nor do they bring us to true release. Of the eight factors which constitute the Noble Eightfold Path, right speech, right action and right livelihood are to be practised in the sphere of conduct for the mastery of

the actions (*śīlāśrayaṃ karmaparigrahāya*); right view, right resolve and right effort are to be practised in the sphere of knowledge for the destruction of passions causing affliction (*prajñāśrayaṃ kleśaparikṣyāya*), and right mindfulness and right concentration are to be practised in the sphere of tranquillity for the control of mind (*saṃāśrayaṃ cittaparigrahāya*). Thus the Noble Eightfold Path involves the threefold practice of *sīla*, *saṃādhi* and *prajñā*. Concentration leads to the tranquillity of mind and thorough knowledge. Āśvaghōṣa's presentation of Buddhism is in complete agreement with the trend of the Buddha's teachings in the Sūtra Piṭaka.

As long as the real truth is not known, so long faith does not become strong. When a man by restraining his senses with self-control sees the truth, the tree of his faith bears fruit and becomes the means of further advance. His description of *nīrvāṇa* is similarly based upon the Sūtra texts. *Śraddhā* (faith), *Vīrya* (energy) and other moral faculties, the immoral mental states with their unwholesome effect and creating fetters and hindrances are all interpreted by him in consistency with the Sūtra line of development of these psycho-ethical concepts. The real urge to the higher and progressive life comes from *śraddhā* meaning faith, belief, confidence, as well as aspiration. *Vīrya* (energy) which is released after the seed of faith is sown in the proper soil is the means by which one may proceed to accomplish what is to be done. It must be employed for the sake of tranquillity which is the essence of *Nirvāṇa*.

According to Āśvaghōṣa *śaraṇa* (refuge) not only implies that a person seeks a refuge, being driven by the fear of an impending danger, but also that the refuge sought for is one which is the most secure and safest, hence the very best that is available. In that Buddhist idea of *śaraṇāgati* the seeker of the refuge is primarily the *ārtta* or one who is upset and in the course of seeking he becomes the enquirer, eager to know the things as they are, desirous of attaining to the best that is available, and becomes wise, emancipated and living with the satisfaction that all that had to be done has been done. If the *śaraṇāgati* and *śaraṇa* be relative ideas, one implying the other, the best kind of *śaraṇāgati* must have for its object the best of the

*śaraṇas*. The *śaraṇāgati* is psychologically defined as the birth of a religious aspiration which impels a person to believe, 'This is my refuge, this is my ideal'. In the *Bhagavadgītā* we find that Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva is regarded as the best and only *śaraṇa* for all the four classes of devotees. So according to Aśvaghōṣa, the Buddha is considered as the best refuge. Aśvaghōṣa has rightly pointed out that as a personality the historical founder of Buddhism, who is the first refuge, proved himself to be the *Tathāgata*, *Sugata*, *Jina*, *Dharmacakrapravartaka*, *Vināyaka*, *Sārathī*, *Maharṣi*, *Mahāmuni*, *Hitaṛṣi*, *Mahākūruṇika*, *Śāstā*, *Mārgakovidā*, *Śalyo-ddhūrakartā*, (puller of the dart), *Śokasyahartā Śaraṇāgatānaṃ* (stealer of sorrow from the seekers of refuge) and *śokasyakartā Pratigarvitānaṃ* (causer of sorrow to the proud and conceited). Aśvaghōṣa's object is to establish the superior worth of the Buddhist Triad, the *Tathāgata*, the *Mokṣa-Dharma*, and the *Āryasaṅgha*.

If it be the task of philosophy to offer a rational and satisfactory explanation for pleasure and pain in the world, in individual lives, this explanation is to be found in the Buddha's doctrine of causation or dependent origination and not in God, not in the primordial matter, not in time, not in nature, not in faith, not in chance, not even in the Sāṅkhya principles of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛiti*.

*Pravṛtti-duḥkhasya ca tasya loke*

*tṛṣṇādayo doṣaganānimittam ।*

*naiveśvaro na prakṛtir na kālo*

*nāpi svabhāvo na vidhīyadṛcchā ॥ (S. XVI. 17).*

Since an individual is a mere creation of the *Samśkāras*, there is neither the agent nor the internal percipient. The world is devoid of any abiding entity. Since the world has no motive force of its own and is not self-dependent and since there is no human being who exercises paramountcy over actions, and since states of being arise from dependence on other states, the world is understood to be without a soul.

*Yataś'ca samśkāragataṃ viviktaṃ*

*na kārakaḥ kaścana vedako vā ।*

*Sāmagṛyataḥ sambhavati pravṛttiḥ*

*Śūnyam tato lokamimam dadarśa ॥*

*Yasmānnirīhaṃ jagadasvatantraṃ  
 naiśvaryamekaḥ kurute kriyāsu ।  
 tattat pratītya prabhavanti bhāvā  
 nirātmaḥ tena viveda lokān ॥*

( *Saundarananda kāvyā*, XVII, 20-21 ).

Aśvaghōṣa has faithfully given the scholastic Hinayāna definition of cause as a combination of circumstances ( *pacayasū-maggi* ), sufficient in itself to account for the happening of events and discarded all theories seeking to account for such happenings by any single cause or agent. For such expressions as *karmayoga*, *abhyāsayoga*, and *indriyānindriyārthebhyo*, Aśvaghōṣa was indebted to the *Bhagavadgītā*. The account of the practice of *dhyāna* or *yoga* in the *Saundarananda kāvyā* ( xiv, 1-9 ) is nothing but a replica of the *Gītā* account of the *abhyāsayoga*.

Aśvaghōṣa<sup>1</sup> speaks of *śīla* as the *śaraṇa* or *āśraya* for a religious aspirant: “ *Śīlam hi śaraṇaṃ saumya kāntāra iva daiśika*”. His idea of *śīla* reminds us of what is significantly brought out in the *Milinda-Pañha* ( p. 34 ); *śīla* is the foundation of moral life, the root of increase in goodness, and the starting point of the teachings of all Buddhas.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed study of Aśvaghōṣa's doctrinal and philosophical knowledge, vide B. C. Law, *Aśvaghōṣa*.



## WHY STUDY SANSKRIT ?<sup>1</sup>

BY

Professor BETTY HEIMANN

Sanskrit is the oldest child known of the Indo-European linguistic family. Not only are the oldest documents of the Indo-European languages, which have come down to us, written in this language ( Rgveda of the 2nd millennium before Christ ), but also its linguistic formation shows all signs that Sanskrit actually is the oldest offspring of the common mother-tongue of Europe and the main Indian languages alive.

It is a general, though at the first sight perplexing, law of languages that the older the language, the richer are its forms. Only in later times, through generalizations and abstractions and through the need of finding a simpler means of communication, is the original manifoldness of forms reduced. For early Man with his keenness of sense-perception the differences of the varied functions are so strongly felt that he is reluctant to combine them into a general and abstract term. For instance, shooting with a certain kind of bow and arrow in a standing, crouching, or lying position are for him different functions, according to the means and the posture in which these activities are performed. As such, for instance in the Polynesian languages, different words have to be used to do justice to each of these different procedures. Accordingly, the different intensity and degrees of movement are expressed in the Sanskrit language with so many distinct verbs (e. g. *gam*, *sar*, *yā*, *sarp*, *ṛ*, *i*, *pad*, etc. ).

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<sup>1</sup> It is only after having finished writing this article that I had the opportunity of reading Dr. R. N. Dandekar's study on 'SANSKRIT' published in the "Indian Literatures of Today". According to the programmatic title of the series in which Dr. Dandekar's article is published, he deals predominantly with the wide prevalence of Sanskrit in the India of the present day and indicates the relation which exists between the various current vernaculars and their parent Sanskrit. I omitted this particular aspect in my study of the subject and concentrated more on its general inherent value. I am happy to see that though our studies are taken from different angles our statements corroborate each other.

The varying direction of movement of form and object similarly result in Sanskrit in fully developed distinct case-formations for nouns, pronouns and adjectives. The Ablative case denotes origin from, the Instrumental indicates the means by which an action is done, the Dative points to the recipient of the action, the Locative shows the place, in short, all the eight cases ( if we include the Vocative which is actually not a case, but a shortened sentence of address or admonition ) have retained in Sanskrit a separate formation, while already ancient Greek and ancient Latin represent Locative and Ablative cases only as crippled forms and generally use for Dative and Genitive combined forms. If we look to the modern languages of Europe, this dwindling of case-formation has gone much further. English, the simplified language of world-communication, has discarded case-formations altogether and only sparingly distinguishes the different cases by the application of prepositions.

The same law of gradual falling-together of formerly distinct forms holds good for Number. Sanskrit has fully developed Singular, Plural and also Dual for nominal and verbal forms, while only in Homeric ancient Greek is the Dual still preserved. The keen sense of primitive Man is reluctant to jump directly from the Singular into the vagueness of the Plural, and still feels the need to express the difference between a plurality discernible in single persons, as in the case of the Dual, and the no-more discernible mass of people.

Falling-together of forms is a process of later development. In the phonetic sphere, a similar difference can be pointed out between ancient Sanskrit and the main languages of Indian middle ages. The process of simplification of articulation is carried further in Pali and the Prakrits than in Sanskrit. Probably, once more, falling-together of formerly distinct forms has taken place for providing an easier means of communication by lessening the difficulties of pronunciation ( cf. Sk. *anitya* with Pali: *anicca* ; Sk. *kṣāṇa* with Pali *khāṇa* ; Sk. *pratyeke* with Pali *pacceka*, etc. ). As such Sanskrit provides for its Western and Eastern sister - and daughter - languages a study-model of original fulness of forms.

Also from the psychological point of view Sanskrit, as the oldest language of Indo-European origin, provides possibilities for the study of languages in general which none of the younger languages still reveals. The unweakened consciousness towards sound is retained in Sanskrit. Just as Yogic training, through centuries has kept alive the consciousness of circulation of breath, blood and all the inner humours, just so Sanskrit has retained keenness of perception towards articulation and the physico-psychological reaction towards it in the speaker and hearer alike. Not only are the rational contents of a word or a sentence kept alive, but also the irrational reaction towards its sound-picture is never lost sight of. Hence the apparent artistry of Sk. *kāvya* to produce a *Rasa* (psychological flavour or sentiment) by applying in a verse either only hard articulated or soft articulated consonants. The repetition of sound emphasises the meaning implied.

In connection with these above-mentioned characteristics of Sanskrit, with its manifoldness of forms and its subtle variations of sound, we have to view the richness of poetical expression possible in Sanskrit poetry. And yet a third characteristic of Sanskrit plays a part in the expressiveness of Sanskrit poetical thought. The presupposition of such an early and sense-conscious civilization (keenness of ear and eye) is built up on observation of Nature's functional forces. As it is daily brought home to the Indian, nothing stands isolated and unique in Nature. There is continuous inter-connection between the various manifestations of natural forces. Similarity in all its various shades can be observed between all beings on earth. Man, animal and plant are all manifestations of a vital force which pervades the Universe. Similes (*upamās*) between all these different beings impress themselves on the human mind and give rise to all the poetical expressions of comparison between these naturally inter-connected shapes. Sanskrit, as an ancient, and in this sense primitive, language gets all the benefit out of the lively observation of early Man.

And yet another deduction from this still keenly felt connection of Man with natural forces:— Just as Nature is never static

in any moment, but continuously evolves in functional processes, just so Man in his recognition of his unbroken contact with Nature does not venture to stabilize facts, but accepts the functional law of continuous change. As such Nature's dynamic motion and development reflects on the mind of the early Indian and on his language, Sanskrit.

The artistically interested Westerner or Easterner can thus get an unending inspiration from Sanskrit texts and their illustration in Indian plastics and architecture. It is only the one who has first concentrated on India's natural laws and then seriously studied the texts of Sanskrit literature, who is fully equipped to appreciate Indian art, plastic, painting and architecture.

Thus the linguist, the artist and the psychologist can find in the study of Sanskrit through the very fact of its antiquity an inexhaustible material for studies. The student of comparative religion similarly finds in the Sanskrit literature a most inspiring field of research. Through the early conception of a Nature-religion, as represented in Sanskrit religion and Hindu representative art, he comes near to the source out of which all later more abstract religions have developed. Not only are the later Indian religions indebted to Sanskrit texts for their origin, but also the student of comparative religion in general has to be a humble pupil of ancient Indian religious concepts. Western Monotheism cannot be exclusively studied by itself, but has to be confronted with the various shades of Polytheism, Pantheism, Henotheism-remnants of all these clearly survived in India's religions.

However, one could suspect that this old civilization has not contributed much in detail to the later achievements of science and scholarship. As to Mathematics, it is true that other civilizations have played their part in more accurate single details of calculation and theoretical formulation. Yet, let us not forget that it is Sanskrit and its foundation of thought which has given to the world the greatest mathematical contribution in introducing the concept of zero, *śūnya*. The concept of zero is not a merely mathematical deduction; it is transferred into the mathematical sphere from early concepts of a philosophy of Nature. Nature itself

is like a reservoir out of which forces emanate and into which they are in the end re-absorbed. Zero is such a kind of a productive reservoir of indifference between the positive and negative, generative and destructive powers. God Śiva, ( the god of generation, destruction, and the master-yogin who is indifferent to polar functions ) is in the Hindu concept the Positive and the Negative and the balance between both alike. That is, in a way, he represents in the religious sphere a concept of Zero. Furthermore, *Śūnya*, the term for Zero, is in Indian Transcendentalism the not-yet or the no-more single form-mathematically termed ; the No-more or Not-yet single Number.

The exact sciences, too, were fertilized by ancient Indian concepts of general world-view. The presupposition of interconnection between all beings on earth and their mutual influence on each other has established Indian Pharmacology and Physiology. Ancient Pharmacology is still alive in our times in the form of *Ayurveda*. *Ayurveda* based its researches of the healing influence of plants for the human and animal body on this interconnection. Besides, it took into account the influence of atmospheric and sidereal forces on the beings on earth. As such the healing powers of the plants and roots vary according to the time of the day and night in which they are plucked.

And now another example taken from the field of Physiology. Modern Indian Physiology, as taught by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, has startled the world by discoveries of similar laws in plants as the formerly discovered blood-pulsation in Man and animal. Bose humbly acknowledged that he was led to this experiment on plants, carried out with the help of the most modern scientific instruments, by nothing else but by the teaching of the ancient Upaniṣads, which, as in Chāndogya and Brhadāraṇyaka, once and again insist on the fundamental likeness between Man, animal and plant. They emphasize that the same life-force pervades all beings.

Even the latest discoveries of Physics, the Theories of the growth and functional changes in crystals, can be traced back to fundamental teachings of the ancient Sanskrit texts and the Jaina theories of the animate element, the souls, even within stones.

The modern educationalist and teacher of ethics, too, may with equal benefit study the ancient Sanskrit literature. The respect for elders, the dignity of the old of at least similar value as the New, the necessity of self-discipline and self-development, the responsibility towards the effect of *Karma* according to the unbreakable connection of cause ( *Karma-bīja* ) and its effect ( *Karma-phala* ) all these and more are ideas taught emphatically in ancient Sanskrit literature.

And now a last point—a refutation of an argument which could be brought against the study of Sanskrit. One could say, granted that such ideas can be found in the Sanskrit texts; but why should we learn such a complicated, ancient and dead language? Can we not get the same benefit from reading instead the many translations of Sanskrit texts made in modern languages? Firstly, is Sanskrit actually a “dead” language? True, it is spoken only by the learned Pandits of India in its original form, but it is still alive in all its offsprings, the vernaculars. Furthermore, it has never become a “dead” language in the sense that it employs abstract, artificially fixed forms and expressions. It is functionally alive, like Nature itself, which provided for Sanskrit thought and its linguistic form the inspiring model. As to the second point—the complicated and as such apparently more difficult forms of Sanskrit: The lucidity of Sanskrit formation in verbal stem, suffixes and prefixes, provides a methodical help for learning this language easier than those which are less clear in their anatomical structure. Intensive study of the meaning implied in the prefixes and suffixes and the clearly indicated method of deriving all secondary forms from their respective verbal roots, enable the Sanskrit student, in a way, to produce the various combinations himself. Furthermore, it is just that manifoldness of the primitively rich Sanskrit that provides the linguist with the best study-model of all languages, especially those modern ones in which structure is less discernible, for their forms are, as it were, mutilated. As to the question of representing Sanskrit in modern translations, its richness of thought and forms cannot be reproduced in languages of later limited formation. Secondly, as mentioned above, all its irrational and acoustic implications cannot be transferred into a lan-

guage of less acute sound-perception. And thirdly, all translations are, as the very name suggests, only transformations and subjective interpretations of the translator concerned. Thus none of them can provide an objective and full representation of the original. Again, Sanskrit is near to the foundation of thought and linguistic expression of the whole Indo-European language-group. As such Sanskrit cannot be exhausted in its inner wealth by a translation into any of its later and, as it were, deformed sister-or-daughter languages. ..

From all the above given aspects and reasons the claim can be upheld that the study of Sanskrit is an essential and a most fruitful task.

## REPETITIONS IN THE R̥GVEDAPADAPĀṬHA

BY

C. G. KASHIKAR

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has published an article called "Pāda-saṃkhyā" in the Adyar Library Bulletin ( Vol. XI part 2, pp. 79-96 ) in which he has described a MS. dealing with the Pādas of the verses in the R̥gveda. In the introductory part of the article he has dealt with the question of repetitions in the R̥gvedapadapāṭha. He says, " It is monstrous to say that so many cases had escaped the notice of the author of the Padapāṭha. Ancient scholars themselves give the explanation for such difference. If there is the difference of a hair's breadth between the repetitions, in meaning or construction, then they are not regarded as repetitions and the words are split up in the apparently repeated place also. Commentators give such places of apparent repetitions ( cf. R̥gveda-vyākhyā Mādhavakṛtā ). The general principle is also enunciated by scholars in ancient times ( See R̥gvedānukramaṇi of Mādhava IV-viii ). " In this connection it may be stated that I had read a paper on " The Problem of *Galita* in the R̥gvedapadapāṭha " at the thirteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur in October 1946. The summary of the paper was published in " The Summaries of papers " ( p. 1 ) published by the Conference. In that paper I have referred to certain cases in which *Galita* or repetition was expected according to the usual practice of the composer of the Padapāṭha but is not actually observed, and also a few others in which the repetition should not have been observed but has actually been, and have drawn the conclusion that such cases seem to have escaped the attention of the composer of the Padapāṭha. I have inferred certain things from this conclusion.

Dr. Kunhan Raja says that Padapāṭha repetitions are observed only when there is similarity both in construction as well as in meaning and that if there is a difference of a hair's breadth, they are not observed. I propose to scrutinize this statement. I shall first examine Mādhava's commentary edited by Dr. Raja. It



covers Adhyāyas 1-4 of the first Aṣṭaka.<sup>1</sup> There are certain repetitions in the Padapāṭha of this portion. Let us see how far Mādhava takes their notice.

In the commentary on RV. I. 13. 10 he says अस्माकमस्त्विति गत-मिति. In I. 26. 1 he says सगन्धपादाः (? probably गतः पादः ). In I. 47. 3 he says that a certain Pāda occurs five times in the Rgveda. At the following places the repetitions are neither reproduced nor explained in the commentary :- 1. 5. 4 ; 19. 2-9 ; 28. 2-4 ; 29. 2-7 ; 31. 2-3 ; 42. 8-9 ; 47. 5 ; 60. 5 ; 61. 16. In all these cases the repetition is a full sentence comprising a Pāda. So the explanation of the remaining portion of the verse concerned did not suffer from its absence. According to the usual practice of the Padapāṭha, the repetition takes place when three consecutive words are repeated. There are some such repetitions in these four Adhyāyas which Mādhava has not noticed, as it was impossible to do so while explaining the verse concerned. Such cases are found at the following places :- 1. 3. 5 ; 6 ; 8. 10 ; 11. 7 ; 15. 4 ( a full sentence comprising a Pāda ), 16. 9 ; 26. 6 ; 29. 1, 31. 9 ; 12 ; 34. 7 ; 36. 6 ; 20 ; 39. 4 ; 41. 1 ; 47. 6 ; 51. 13 ; 56. 4 ; 57. 6 ; 61. 2-6 ; 8 ; 10 ; 11-15. It is thus clear that Mādhava has noticed some repetitions, but has not recorded them exhaustively. This, moreover, is not a peculiar feature of Mādhava. Sāyaṇa also has frequently noted such repetitions of whole verses, half verses or Pādas by saying व्याख्यतेयं, अन्यद्गतं etc.

Mādhava, son of Venkatārya deals with the problem of repetitions in a few verses at the beginning of his commentary on Adhyāya 8th of Aṣṭaka IV ( cf. Rgvedānukramaṇī of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja ). In the beginning he simply notes that there occur in the Rgveda Samhitā repetitions of verses, half verses or Pādas and quotes examples. He also notes that there are a number of repetitions of Ardharcas and Pādas. Then he records the fact that repetitions are observed in the Padapāṭha with certain exceptions. He quotes two cases where the repeated verse is analysed in the Pada text. He then proceeds to find out the reason for the exception and draws the conclusion that the repetition is retained in the Pada text, if there is the slightest difference in meaning : ( तिलमात्रे विद्यमाने

पुनश्चोधीयते पदं । सुसूक्ष्मः शक्यते ज्ञातुं नाप्राज्ञैरिति निर्णयः ॥ ) He has again quoted two repetitions extending to the length of Ardhara and Pāda respectively and has tried to give an explanation as to why they have been retained in the Pāda text.

This discussion of repetitions by Mādhava is inadequate, since the explanations given do not suit in all cases. I may quote a few :—

यदिन्द्राग्नी अवमस्यां पृथिव्यां मध्यमस्यां परमस्यामुत स्थः ।

अतः परे वृषणावा हि यातमथा सोमस्य पिबतं सुतस्य ॥

यदिन्द्राग्नी परमस्यां पृथिव्यां मध्यमस्यामवमस्यामुत स्थः ।

अतः परे वृषणावा हि यातमथा सोमस्य पिबतं सुतस्य ॥ RV. I. 108.9, 10

In the Pāda text the latter half of the 9th and the whole of the 10th are a repetition. The latter half of both the verses is a refrain occurring in verses 7-12 of this hymn. A comparison of the first half of the 9th with that of the 10th shows that the words अवमस्यां and परमस्यां in the 9th are interchanged in the 10th. But this has violated the similarity of any three consecutive words. So the first half of the 10th verse should not have been omitted. Similar is the case in RV. VI. 27. 1, 2 :—

किमस्य मदे किम्वस्य पीताविन्द्रः किमस्य सख्ये चकार ।

रणा वा ये निषदि किं ते अस्य पुरा विविद्रे किमु नूतनासः ॥

सदस्य मदे सदस्य पीताविन्द्रः सदस्य सख्ये चकार ।

रणा वा ये निषदि सत्ते अस्य पुरा विविद्रे सदु नूतनासः ॥

Here the whole second verse excepting the beginning words सत् । अस्य । is omitted in the Padapātha. In fact the word सद standing four times in place of किं in the first verse should have been retained.

On the other hand there is a case in which repetition has not been observed even though it seems essential :—

कस्य नूनं कतमस्यासुतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम ।

को नो मद्या अदितये पुनर्दात् पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥

अग्नेर्वयं प्रथमस्यासुतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम ।

स नो मद्या अदितये पुनर्दात् पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥ RV. I. 24.1, 2

Here the second mantra is fully analysed in the Pāda text. In fact the whole mantra excepting the beginning words अग्नेः । वयं । प्रथमस्य । and the initial सः । in the latter half is the same as the first mantra hence, should not have been analysed.

Mādhava does not record these cases, nor does he give any explanation for them. The next point is that Mādhava does not take into account the repetitions running to the length of less

than a Pāda. There is a considerable number of such short repetitions. Mādhava is silent on this fact. He says nothing by way of explanation as to why such repetitions are observed and why certain others are not. It may be said that the principle relating to verses, half verses and Pādas applies here also, i. e. they are observed if their meaning is the same. But what is the criterion to ascertain their right meaning? How are we to arrive at the meaning which the author of the Padapāṭha had in view? The only available reliable source is the Sāyanabhāṣya. I have examined the repetitions in Adhyāyas 1-4 of the first Astaka as explained in Sāyanabhāṣya and have noted the following cases in which the repetition is observed even though there is a difference of meaning :—

Reference	Padapāṭha	Sāyanabhāṣya
I. 25. 1	यत् । चित् । हि ।	यच्चिद्धि यदेव ( व्रतं कर्म )
26. 6	„	„ यद्यपि
29. 1	„	„ „
I. 31. 8	त्वम् । नः । अग्ने ।	अग्ने त्वं नः अस्माकं
9	„	„ „ „
12	„	„ „ अस्मान्
I. 34. 6	त्रिः । नः । अश्विना ।	अश्विना नः अस्मभ्यं त्रिः
7	„	„ „ अस्मदीयां त्रिः त्रिवारं
I. 61. 7	अस्य । इत् । उँ इति ।	इत् उ इत्येतन्निपातद्वयं पादपूरणम् । अस्य यज्ञस्य
11	„	अस्यैवेन्द्रस्य
13	„	„
14	„	„
I. 61. 1	अस्मै । इत् । उँ इति ।	अस्मै एव इन्द्राय
12	„	अस्मै वृत्राय
15	„	अस्मै इन्द्राय

If the principle laid down by Mādhava is stretched to its logical consequence, these repetitions with slightly different meaning should not have been observed. They are collected from only a beginning portion of the Rgveda. A large number of such cases exhibiting more precise difference in meaning can be found out from the larger portion in which the repetitions are in abundance.

There are, on the other hand, cases in which the construction is similar and the meaning according to Sāyana is also the same, still the repetition has not been observed :—

Reference	Padapāṭha	Sāyanabhāṣya
ṚIII 18. 10	अप । अमीवां । अप ।	अमीवां रोगं अप सेधत ... अप सेधत
X 63. 12	„	अमीवां रोगादिकं अप कुरुत पृथक्कुरुत... पृथक्कुरुत
IX. 12. 2	अभि । विप्राः । अनुषत ।	विप्राः मेधाविनः अभि अनुषत अभिशब्दयन्ति
17. 6	„	विप्राः मेधाविनः अभि अनुषत अभिष्णुवन्ति
IX. 23. 4	अभि । सोमासः । आयवः ।	आयवः गन्तारः सोमासः सोमाः अभि पवन्ते
107. 14	„	आयवः गमनशीलाः सोमासः सोमाः अभि पवन्ते
VI. 47. 4	अयं । सः । यः ।	सः खलु अयं सोमः यः
IX. 39. 4	„	अयं सः सोमः यः
III. 22. 1	अयं । सः । अग्निः	अयं अग्निः सः
VII. 1. 16	„	सः अयं अग्निः
I. 79. 8	आ । नः । अग्ने ।	अग्ने नः अस्मभ्यं ( रयिं धनं ) आ ( भर )
9	„	अग्ने नः अस्माकं ( जीवसे जीवनाय रयिं धनं ) आ ( धेहि ) ( Repetition observed )
ṚII. 60. 11	„	अग्ने नः अस्मभ्यं ( रयिं धनं ) आ ( हर ) ( Repetition not observed )

These are just a few cases discovered by a casual survey. A closer scrutiny is bound to disclose them in large number. Thus we see that in the R̥gvedapadapāṭha there are cases in which repetition has been observed in spite of difference of meaning, and that there are also cases in which the same has not been observed even though the meaning is the same. The general principle laid down by Mādhava does not seem to be adequate to explain the position of repetitions in general and the reasons for retaining the repetitions of certain verses, half verses and Pādas as given by him are not convincing. It is quite natural that in a large number of cases the similarity of construction should also mean the similarity of meaning. But that does not form a hard and fast rule, as the instances quoted above amply show. So the conclusion seems to be inevitable that the difference of meaning has nothing to do with the observance of repetition and that mere similarity of construction was sufficient for the purpose. And since there is a considerable number of cases in which the repetition is not observed in spite of similar construction, we have to suppose that the similarity of construction was in many cases somehow lost sight of by the composer of the Padapāṭha.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kunhan Raja, in a paper presented to the 14th session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Darbhanga seems to have put forth some more arguments and information in favour of his above mentioned proposition. Nothing can be said in the matter unless the whole paper is available in print.

## MODERNISM IN ŚAMKARA

BY

SHRINIWAS DIXIT

Occasionally, we find in Śamkara, flashes of argument which are surprisingly modern. In this note I want to point out two such.

(1) Commenting on Sūtra II, 2, 28 of the B. S., Śamkara is concerned to refute the Buddhist Idealism. This school argues that whatever is known is known and therefore an idea. Hence we can never know whether things other than our ideas exist. Therefore we must deny their existence. :

Śamkara's answer to this argument, I maintain, is the same which Prof. G. E. Moore brought out in his article 'Refutation of Idealism' published in 1903. Students of philosophy know what a big stir this small article made in philosophic circles. It was a veritable bombshell.

The argument of that article, in substance, is that we are never immediately aware of our ideas in their first intention in an act of cognition. What we immediately and directly know are the objects. The idea is *of* the object.

Now, I hold that Śamkara's argument against the Buddhistic Idealism (which is an Empirical Idealism of the Berkeleyan type) as outlined in the first few lines of his commentary on the Sūtra ननु वा उपलब्धेः । (II, 2, 28) is precisely the same. There he says, like Moore, that we cannot deny the existence of the external object because we actually experience *it* (and not its idea). To deny the existence of what is actually perceived, namely, the external object is as absurd as to deny the feeling of satisfaction when one actually feels satisfied. As against the Empirical Idealism of the Buddhists, then, Śamkara proves his Empirical Realism, as conclusively as, (because in the same manner as,) Moore refutes Berkeleyan Idealism.

(2) Surprisingly enough, Śaṅkara proves his Transcendental Idealism in the same manner as Prof. T. H. Green (following Kant) may be said to have done that. Put shortly Green's argument is this: By the 'real' we cannot mean an entity as opposed to something unreal. (Because the unreal, simply, is not). The reality of a thing is constituted by the fact that it is a set of unalterable relations! Nature is real because, it exhibits such a set of unalterable relations, i. e. uniformity. Now, there cannot be relations outside all consciousness. Therefore there must be an absolute consciousness which subtends the relational frame-work that is nature. To make this argument clearer: Because there is uniformity of nature, we must postulate a consciousness that makes this possible. For, uniformity of nature, or the categories of the understanding, or the set of unalterable relations, or simply, order, cannot be without a consciousness.

Now, Śaṅkara brings forth precisely this argument while attacking the Buddhistic Realism. While commenting on the sūtra II, 2, 19 of the B. S., he argues that the Buddhists cannot logically hold that the aggregates (of qualities) which are independent of all consciousness succeed each other and it is the series of such aggregates that we call the things. Because, if the succeeding aggregates are all exactly identical, a thing would remain eternally what it is (but this is not the case). If, on the other hand, there is neither rhyme nor reason in their succession, anything may happen at any time (But this also is not the case). What we actually see is that change takes place in nature according to a law. In other words, since there is the uniformity of nature, there must be an intelligent principle which makes this possible. Śaṅkara's Brahman is such a transcendental principle.

Hence, like Kant, he is empirically a Realist, but transcendently, an Idealist.

## REVIEWS

Wilhelm Schmidt: *Rassen und Völker in Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des Abendlandes*. 2 vols. Stocker, Luzern, Switzerland 1946.

W. Schmidt's two volumes contain a very comprehensive picture of the development of the Indoeuropean language, civilization, and race, , packed full of details and clear in their views, they are a sound basis for further research and they help to clarify the complicated problems by extensive polemics, especially against Naziracists. In part one Schmidt, as a good catholic scholar, shows the unscholarly and inhuman theories and practices of the Nazis in the field of race and family. He triumphs in showing that even the most important item of the racists, the index of skulls, is no constant and trustworthy factor, as far as for some centuries, a tendency to brachycephaly, even among the so-called dolichocephal Nordic people exists, and even the Nazis could not accomplish their dogma of the Nordic race as the only privileged race of masters of the world, because they had to consider that they themselves, the German Nazis, consisted, not only of the Nordic race, but of other races too.

For us Indologists, the part dealing with the pre-, proto-, and old historical development of the Indoeuropeans is more interesting. Schmidt starts from the very beginning of mankind, and shows the great lines of I ) the so-called " basic civilization " when the first hunters were living in a simple, but ideal way, with monotheism and monogamy ( I, 246, 265 sq. ). The Weddas and some other tribes are the Indian remnants of these old people. Schmidt ( 245 ) accepts for them the term " Malids " from V. Eickstedt whose theory about Indian races is known to Indologists from his introduction to A. Kr. Iyer's ' Mysore Castes and Tribes '.

( II ) the three primary civilizations ":

( 1 ) the totemic hunters, of whom, in India, the Dravidas ( 269, 271 ) ( or according to V. Eickstedt: the Weddids, i. e. the Gondids and malids: 274 ) descended.

( 2 ) the matriarchal peasants, preserved inter alia in North-East-India ( 270 ), forming one element of the Mundas ( 273 ).

The basic civilization and these two primary civilizations intermingled and thus small states around towns were founded, especially in Egypt, Mesopotamia and in the Dravidian Indus-valley ( 271 ); ' protohistoric ' times began.

( 3 ) The third primary civilization was that of the herdsmen, the oldest of whom were, herdsmen of the reindeer, then those of the breeders of horses, and later on the cowherds ( 272, 274 ). The original horse-breeders were the Turanids ( 274 ), who flourished in China and " perhaps in some parts of North-East-India " as the first founders of a high civilization and big states in China ( 282 ). They mixed with the people of the second primary civilization and spread as the brachycephalic elements from North India through Persia up to France and East-England ( 284 ).

Under the influence of the Turanids, the Nordids=Indoeuropeans in South-Russia and East-Europe and the Hamito-Semits in Arabia and North-Africa became horse-breeders ( 275 ) and conquerors ( 282 sq. ). Let it be remembered that the language of the Indoeuropeans had some relation to that of the Hamito-Semits ( II, 268 ).

( III ) " High civilization " began with the beginning of the neolithic times ( 280 ) and India brought forth the caste-system ( 281, 288 ). According to Schmidt the founders of high civilization in China were the Turanids ( 262 ), but one expects, that the protohistoric civilization in Egypt, Babylonia and the Indus-valley ( cf. above ) are reckoned as high civilizations too, although it is difficult to ascribe them to the beginning of neolithic times, and although Schmidt believes that high civilization contains elements of all three primary civilizations, whilst in the Indus-civilization etc. he finds only a mixture of the 1st and 2nd civilizations. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that cowherds, if not horse-breeders ( cf. below ) contributed to all the protohistoric civilizations. It is a pity that Schmidt does not go



into such details. I do not quite understand why he ascribes towns to the totemic hunters ( 269, 280, 285 ) whereas, the conception of town, I think, would be better reserved for the proto-historic high civilizations. Schmidt acknowledges the ritualistic killing of the protohistoric Indian Kings ( 286 ), a most debated item. So much for his first volume.

We do not know when the Turanids first tamed the horse. In the 5th. millennium B. C. tamed horses are testified for Iran ( II. 108 ), in the 4th for Mesopotamia ( 105 ), and for the oldest levels of Anau in West Turkistan, also the tamed horse seems now to be certain ( 106 ). Side by side with this influence of the Turanids ( Turks ) on the protohistoric Near East ( but not in the Indus-valley ) one has to accept the influence of the Turanids on the early Indoeuropeans.

Schmidt had no doubt that this influence is certain ( 162 sq, 204, 219 ) and was direct ( 122 ) because Turks lived in Turkistan, before Indoeuropeans immigrated there in the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. ( 196 ). He distinguishes three kinds of such influences ( 203 sq. ) :

( 1 ) In the 3rd. millennium the medium wave of the "battle-axe-people " ( cf. below wave 3 ) used very few horses for riding and for goods-cars, but not for military purposes. They spread this type of minimal horse-breeding in peaceful way from South-Russia up to Sweden ( 216, 267, 269, 155 ).

( 2 ) In the first three quarters of the 2nd millennium ( 220 ) horse-driven battle-cars were the powerful weapons of the second wave of Indoeuropeans reaching the Near-East (Hittites, Hyksos, Kassits, Mitanni: 217) and Greece (Achaeans: 218) Iran and India somewhat later, cf. below ). The car was already in use with the Turks ( 120, 162, 204 ), not only the heavy and slow goods-car, but also the light and swift battle-car ( 121 ), although even Schmidt himself is a little doubtful about the latter ( 117 ). The car ( especially the battle-car : 108 ? ) was then improved by the highly civilized townspeople of the Near East. Only they ( not primitive herdsmen ) had the ability to do it ( 113 sq. ), and these Indoeuropeans whose homes must have been close to the Near East

inherited it from the Turks, together with the horse and the highly developed battle-car ( 218 ).<sup>1</sup>

( 3 ) In the last quarter of the 2nd. millennium the wave of horse-riding Indoeuropeans spread across the Eastern Alps, the Danube valley, and Germany up to Scandinavia, over the Caucasus, Luristan and Eurasia ( 143 sq. 220 ). These riding warriors again used the battle-axe which had been in use in Mesopotamia already in the 4th millennium ( 97 ) and had been the weapon of the 1st wave of the Indoeuropeans too. One must assume that this axe had reached these Indoeuropeans, then living between the Caucasus ( maikop- Koban-civilizations ), Central Russia ( Seima civ. ) and the Altai ( Minusinsk civ. ) ( 193 ), from the south, and from Mesopotamia. These Indoeuropeans, then, were neighbours of the horse-breeding Turks and the old townspeople of the Near East, and inherited from the former the horse, from the latter, the shape of the axe, bronze, and town life. The philologist will add that the etymologies of the words for horse ( *aśva*-hippos ), town ( *pur*-polis ) and bronze ( *ayas*-aes ) prove these relations also, not only for the riding, but also for the car-driving Indoeuropeans too. He may add that according to some theories the Indoeuropean languages consist of two elements, one being the Uralian ( 226, 229 sq., 259, 263 ), the other a Caucasian language ( 230, 263 ), which fits perfectly with this homeland of the Indoeuropeans, but again not only with that of the riding wave. The Indologist finally may add that according to the theory of Heine Geldern<sup>2</sup> the Indo-aryans started from the same region of the Caucasus at the same time ( about 1200 B. C. ), but again the Indoaryans drove cars and in general were not riders, and the battle-axe was not their significant weapon, although the famous word ' *paraśu* ' belongs to Greek ' *pelekys* ', both being derived from Accadian ' *pilakku* ' ( 95, 101 ). *Paraśu* is the weapon of *Paraśurāma*, the Indian

<sup>1</sup> I do not quite understand the logic of these conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> Archaeological traces of the Vedic Aryans ( *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*. IV, fasc. 2, 1936 ).—New light on the Aryan immigration to India ( *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* V. No. 1, 1937 ).

Orestes<sup>1</sup> whose myth has no connection with Aryan horse-breeding. Did pre-Aryan Indians, already, in protohistoric times transfer this word, this weapon, and this myth from the Near East to India ?

These are the broad outlines of the picture drawn by Schmidt.<sup>2</sup> It solves in a most ingenious way the riddles of modern linguistics, ethnologists and prehistorians, but of course, a lot has still to be done. Schmidt does not deal with the details of some old problems, e. g. that of the incongruency between the centum- and satem-languages on the one hand, and the Asiatic and European Indoeuropeans or that of agricultural and pastoral Indoeuropeans on the other, the differences of the word for horse in the several languages etc. etc. He mentions only very shortly the efforts of Koppers<sup>3</sup> to clear up the question of an Indoeuropean horse-offering, he does not deal with comparative mythology, and for his very interesting treatment of shamanism we eagerly await his forthcoming volumes IX-XII of his *Ursprung der Gottesidee* ( 197 ).

What one single scholar can do in so vast a field, this aged emigrant and famous scholar has done, and everybody is thankful for this comprehensive book of which the 3rd volume will, we hope, be published in a short time.

Walter Ruben, Sukara

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. Ruben, *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, Folklore Fellow Communications, Nr. 133, Helsinki 1944 pg. 35-40.

<sup>2</sup> My own ideas about India's place in the cultural history of the world have been outlined in "Indien im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte" ( Europa-Verlag, Zürich ) and will be shown with more details in my forthcoming book about the thinkers of the Upanishads ( Francke, Bern ).

<sup>3</sup> *Pferde opfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen* ( Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik IV, 1936, 282-402 ).

## EARLY HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON (or

“State of Buddhism in Ceylon as revealed by the Pāli Commentaries of the 5th century A. D.”) by E. W. Adikaram, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), published by D. S. Pusewella, Migoda (Ceylon) 1946, Pp. X+154+L.

The sub-title, put into brackets, represents the proper subject of this doctorate thesis, prepared under the guidance of the veteran Pāli scholar, Dr. W. Stede. The book is divided into two Parts. In Part one, consisting of four chapters, the author gives a brief survey of his materials and tries to assess the nature of their contents, firstly by discussing the older sources to which references are found in the Pāli commentaries, and then by illustrating some of the differences that exist between the commentaries and the canon and those between one commentary and another. He has drawn interesting inferences concerning especially the Porāṇas, who according to him may be the same persons as the Pubbācariyas and may be closely connected with the Porāṇācariyas and Aṭṭhakathācariyas, but not the same as the Porāṇakattheras. The chapter on the Bhāṇakas (Reciters) is more instructive. The author is not aware of any reference to the Reciters of the Khuddakanikāya in any of the commentaries, although the word ‘Khuddakabhāṇaka’ occurs in the Milindapañha. This fact seems to support strongly the theory, that the Sutta Piṭaka consisted originally of only four Āgamas (as in the Chinese tradition) instead of the five Nikāyas represented in Pāli, and that the term ‘Nikāya’ (group) might itself indicate a later re-arrangement of the canonical material on the subject of the ‘Dhamma’, as distinguished from the ‘Vinaya’. (*Oldenberg, Studien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen Knon, NGGW. 1912*).

Part Two, containing ten chapters and covering nearly three-fourth part of the whole book, deals mainly with the early history of Buddhism in Ceylon, during a period of about one thousand years (roughly, 500 B. C. to 500 A. D.). It may be said, in general that in trying to establish historical facts, Dr. Adikaram is very willing to give a long rope to the commentators and later authorities, even where they seem to be manifestly reproducing mere uncritical hearsay, and prefers to err, if need be, on the side

of orthodox beliefs. For example, in regard to the legend that the Buddha himself had visited Ceylon — not once but thrice —, he admits that 'no mention is made of these visits in any part of the Pāli canon', and yet proceeds with the remark: "This negative evidence, though a weighty one, is not sufficient for us to arrive at a decision and deny the truth of the tradition" (p. 46). Can it be seriously contended that, had there been any historical truth behind the legend that the Enlightened One had actually undertaken three proselytising tours in Ceylon, the Pāli Canon, written out in Ceylon on the basis of the traditional recitations could have been so completely innocent of such a tremendously significant fact?

The documentation throughout the whole study has been carried out assiduously and the sections containing the chronological history of the events, connected with the 'Spread of the Faith' (chap. III), the 'Writing down of the Texts' (chap. IV) — for which the first schism that divided the Ceylonese Church into the Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra schools seems to be itself a far more potent reason than those described by the author (p. 79) —, the 'First Literary Period' (chap. V) in the history of Ceylonese Buddhism of the first century A. D. after the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, and the 'Growth of Dissident Schools' (chap. VI) are all full of revealing allusions and cogent remarks. Particularly interesting are the accounts of the Abhayagiri (or Dhammaruci) school belonging to the 'Vajjiputtaka sect, which studied, according, to Fa-hsien, both the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna works and had probably preserved the Canon in its Sanskrit form, of the 'Vitaṇḍāvādins', who rejected the Kathāvatthu in favour of the '*Mahādhammahadaya*', and lastly of the Secret Doctrines, by which was probably meant such texts as were not admitted into the official Canon of the Theravāda School. The *Nikāyaśaṅgraha* of Dharmakīrti, on which Dr. Adikaram has drawn heavily for traditional views on these subjects, is a late source of the fourteenth century A. D.; yet it will be worthwhile comparing its statements with the older sources on the sects of Northern and Southern Buddhism, like the well known works of Vasumitra, Bhavya and the Kathāvatthu (Walleser, *Die Sakten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg

1927). On the Lokuttaravāda school, we expect more light to be thrown by a thorough investigation of a part of their Vinaya literature, found in the Tibetan monasteries. Chapter VII accompanied by a useful map of ancient Ceylon deals with references to the ancient geography of Ceylonese Buddhism. Chap. VIII describes generally the ethics of life, adopted by the Buddhist monks and laymen. Chap. IX deals with the growth of the ritual, connected with the Caityas, including the *Āśvins*, the Bodhi-tree and the images, and with the recitation of the *Parittas*. The last Chapter (X) describes the position of the Buddhist deities: Brahmā, Sakka, the Four Great Kings, Yama, Māra, Metteya etc. and concludes with a brief sketch of the Buddhist cosmography, which has hitherto formed an important, though not yet properly explored, source of comparative Indian mythology. Among the Appendices are found lists of personal and place names in Ceylon and useful collections of quotations from the *Porāṇas* and the *Porāṇaka* *theras*, occurring in the commentaries. The Bibliography (Pp. XXXIII-XXXV) should have been more exhaustive. The author having concentrated himself on the works of Buddhaghosa, the problem of the "*Vimuttimagga* and *Visuddhimagga*", initiated by Nagai and treated exhaustively by P. V. Bapat in his thesis, bearing that title (Poona, 1937) should not have escaped his attention. (See my review in the *Viśva-Bhāratī Quarterly* Vol. V, pt. i (1939), Pp. 92-94). The original and thoroughly critical view taken by Dharmananda Kosambi about the personality of Buddhaghosa in his Introduction to the Devanāgarī edition of the *Visuddhimagga* published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana (Bombay, 1940) has also not come to the notice of the author. A good Index closes this neat and attractive volume, containing a comprehensive, laborious, systematic and useful collection of data from the Pāli commentaries of the fifth century A. D. Some of the misprints that have come to my notice are: p. 9: the third paragraph should bear the title 'Upasena'; p. 94: read 'fifth' instead of 'first' in line 23; Index: p. XLVI, under 'Nikāyasaṅgraha' add p. 92 n; p. IL under 'Upatissa' read 143 instead of 142, and under 'Vaitulya-vādins' read 105 instead of 104.

**'VERBAL COMPOSITION IN INDO-ARYAN' by Dr.  
R. N. Vale, M.A., B.T., Ph.D., (Bombay). Deccan College  
Research Institute, Poona 1948.**

It is a notable contribution to Indo-Aryan Linguistics. For the first time in the history of Indian Philology this treatise makes a systematic and very elaborate attempt to describe, evaluate and explain the phenomenon commonly known as 'compound verbs'. The explanation and origin of compound verbs like Hindi ( *bhej denā* ) 'to send away', Marāṭhī ( *karū denē* ) 'to allow to do' have been the despair of many linguisticians, one of whom went so far as to say that 'a historical investigation of this phenomenon is 'impossible' ( p. 273 ). But the author of this treatise has definitely and convincingly established the fact that the germs of this tendency can be traced to Vedic and Middle Indo-Aryan, using 'the methods of historical linguistics' for the establishment of his results ( p. 1 ). Thus in the Atharva Veda 4. 16. 6 he has noticed the compound verb ( *tiṣṭhanti viṣitāḥ* ) in the sense of 'were set loosed or loose' ( p. 249 ), while in Sanskrit drama and literature he has met with a number of auxiliaries like ( -as ) 'to be' in ( *gato'smi* ) 'I have gone', and ( -ās ) 'to sit' as in ( *cintayann āste* ), while ( -śak ) 'to be able', so widely used in modern Indo-Aryan languages in various forms, has been noticed as an auxiliary in ( *śaknavāma* ) Rgveda 10. 2. 3. The phenomenon is further traced in Middle Indo-Aryan: thus in Pāli Jātaka No. 308 the compound verb ( *patitvā gataṁ* ) 'fell down' occurs, lit. 'the bone having fallen, went' the sense of the participle ( *gataṁ* ) here is the completion of the action of falling ( pp. 263-4 ).

As many as four chapters have been devoted to this phenomenon as it occurs in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Hindi, and other New Indo-Aryan languages. These collections are invaluable for future reseachers. For the first time they usher the study of Indo-Aryan idiom and raise Indian Linguistics from the mere plane of phonetic and grammatical abstractions to investigations of more human aspects of the subject, thus bringing Linguistics

in closer contact with literature. Almost every page of these collections suggests new problems of investigation. Indian Linguists may be grateful to the author for the concentration of so much research-provoking material.

The whole material has been classified under 16 different aspects of the compound verb, such as 'Abilitives', as in Hindi ( *kar saknā* ), Marāṭhī ( *karū śaknē* ) 'to be able to do': Acquisitives, as in Marāṭhī ( *bharūn pāvnē* ) 'to receive full payment' etc. In the concluding portion of the treatise there are 16 tables enlisting auxiliaries used under various aspects, with illuminating comments on the comparative frequency and semantic equivalence of the verbs concerned. Thus the Table on Abilitives ( p. 204 ) shows that the most popular auxiliary used under this group in Indo-Aryan languages at the present day is some corresponding form of the verb ( *śak* ) 'to be able'. Though many other auxiliaries also occur, it has been shown that even the other auxiliaries used are mere semantic equivalents of the more typical auxiliaries. Thus Gujarātī ( *āvāḍ* ) 'to be familiar' is but a semantic equivalent of ( *jān-* ). The Table on Completives ( p. 212 ) shows that the auxiliaries ( *cuk* ) and ( *jā* ) are completives par excellence. Many synonyms like ( *vañ* ), ( *gach* ) for the latter occur, as has been pointed out. A general conspectus of all the 16 Tables would have been even more illuminating. The present reviewer studied all these tables together in connection, and the following are the results of this study:—auxiliary verb ( *jā* ) is the most widely diffused of all, for it is used in the sense of 10 out of the 16 aspects. The next important verb is ( *lag* ), which occurs under 8 aspects. The following summary will bring out these results:—

Auxiliary Verb	Aspects under which it occurs ( numbers correspond to tables )
( <i>jā</i> )	1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16 ( 10 )
( <i>lag</i> )	5, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 ( 8 )

Chapter V on the comparative etymologies of auxiliary verbs widely used in New Indo-Aryan languages is a very useful compilation from Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. A copy of this chapter, being a ready reference for the most frequently used verbs in New Indo-Aryan should be in the hands of every NIA



researcher and its study may be recommended to all advanced University students in the line.

The author's non-dogmatic attitude towards the influence of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan compound verbs ( p. 282 ) is commendable, and there is nothing against his statement: ' it may be an independent parallel development both in Indo-Aryan and in Indo-Dravidian '.

Now a few words of criticism on this valuable work may be desirable. The author firmly calls these compound verbs as ' compound ': to him they are verb-compounds rather than compound verbs. But in taking this firm attitude he has not adequately anticipated objections. He thus defines a compound: ' A compound, like every other word of a word group, is a syntactical fragment of a sentence. It is felt to be a single word-organism, generally constituted of two separately intelligible words, ( p. 239 ). Moreover, according to him, ' semantic unity is the *sine qua non* of composition ( p. 317 ). Now this view of a compound is startling, for it has the logical defect of ( *ativyāpti* ) 'unwarranted extension'. For if any syntactical fragment of a sentence is a compound, if mere semantic unity is a compound, what about the ' phrase '? Could the phrase ' not at all ' be called a compound in English? It would be necessary to keep both these categories ' compound ' and ' phrase ' distinctly apart. Thus Webster ( New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd Edition, 1934 ) defines a compound as ' combination of two or more distinct words which serve grammatically as a single word ' while the phrase is defined by him as ' any group of two or more words that form a sense unit, either expressing a thought fragmentarily without a complete predication or with a weakened form of predication '. Thus though the phrase also is a semantic unit, its grammatical feature of incomplete predication debars it from being called a compound. This distinction between the compound and the phrase is strictly held by all authorities on languages. So the author's expression ' composite phrase ' used on p. 280. ' He ( Caldwell ) calls it a phrase, but it is a composite phrase after all ' needs a little modification.

The criticism of the Sārasvata's doctrine of threefold unity needs much milder phraseology. To call it 'untenable' is too harsh, considering the fact that (āpa-bhartava) etc. are rare exceptions to the overwhelming number of occurrences. These exceptions prove the rule advocated by the Sārasvata.

The arrangement of the 'Aspect Tables' does not correspond to that of the chapters on the NIA languages. The tables follow the aspect, while the chapters follow the alphabetical order of the auxiliary verbs; a comparison of a side-by-side study of both, which is so essential, is very torturing to the reader.

But in spite of the above short-comings, the treatise is likely to be of use to many future researchers.

Siddheshwar Varma

"Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits" by M. A. Mehendale, M.A., Ph.D. XXXVIII+345 pages, Poona, 1948.

This treatise is a valuable contribution to Indology, being a distinct further step in Indian linguistic methodology. For the first time in the history of Indian Linguistics, it is this work which presents Linguistics under two entirely new perspectives *simultaneously*, viz. 'horizontal' comparisons and space-time treatment. A few words explaining the nature and significance of these two features may be desirable :—

(1) Horizontal Comparisons :—

For about 20 years the present reviewer has had the opportunities to go through dissertations on treatises on Indian Linguistics. Most of them were flooded with what may be called 'vertical comparisons', i. e. comparisons with the original source, say Sanskrit only, *ad nauseam*. The offer of these comparisons was often cheap and easy, for Sanskrit material was, comparatively speaking, readily available. But these comparisons could hardly give us the etymology of the word concerned. For the standard of etymology which the linguist of the present day has set up for himself is so staggering that he himself trembles before it. Etymology does not merely mean the comparison of a vocable with a source vocable, it means the *evaluation* of the word in the whole domain of linguistic space-time. Is the form of this word exactly what was to be expected in the dialect concerned? Are we sure that it is not a loan-word from a neighbouring dialect or from some dialect extinct generations ago? Such are questions which the present linguist has to answer before he is able to evaluate the place of a word in the system of the language concerned. About 20 years ago, when Walde-Pokorny's *Dictionary of Indo-European* appeared, one of its reviewers, remarked in a journal, 'It may be called a 'comparative Dictionary', but it does not deserve the title of an etymological dictionary of Indo-European.' And the present reviewer is still in search of a Lexicon which could befittingly be called an 'etymological lexicon'. Now Dr. Mehendale's work has taken Indian

**Linguistics a step further towards a real etymological Dictionary.** In his study of inscriptional Prakrits he has given comparisons of the words concerned not only with Sanskrit, but also with contemporary Prakrit dialects, thus offering to the reader 'horizontal' comparisons. Though Hultzsch had prepared an admirable survey of the individual dialects of Asokan inscriptions, his comparisons were unfortunately only vertical being only with Sanskrit. Dr. Mehendale's work goes a step further : it offers interdialectical comparisons as well. But even in this line the author's step is not final, though even this step required colossal labour : the step is further, not final. The author himself or other workers in the field will perhaps take the next step of preparing etymological discussions on every notable word given in his treatise. But his work may have even much more fruitful results, by suggesting the preparation of Text-books on Comparative Philology containing interdialectical comparisons after the pattern presented by him.

(2) Space-time comparisons. — Dr. Mehendale's work is really a 'new historical approach ( p. XIV ), for he has, at the same time, definitely located each inscriptional Prakrit vocable in point of place and very much approximately in point of time.' The Synoptical tables ( pp. 203 ) prepared by him impressively represent this two-fold aspect, i. e. these tables have two-fold columns :— (a) geographical column, West, N. west, South etc, (b) 'chronological column, 3 B.C., 2 B.C.' etc. Some of the advantages of these synoptic tables may be noted as follows :— (a) These tables will help the researcher to see where and when a linguistic change say the replacement of ( *k* ) by ( *g* ), just occurred; (b) they will be an eye-opener to many authors and readers of text-books in Indo-Aryan philology, for in the light of these tables, most of these text-books shall have to be rewritten, e. g. the cheapish generalization of text books about the treatment of OIA ( *a* ) will vanish when a glance at these tables will show that ( *a* ) before a consonant group was no doubt kept as ( *a* ) in the earlier centuries, but in later centuries it became predominantly ( *u* ). (c) It remains for the future researchers to investigate how far these inscriptional phenomena could be verified by parallel phenomena in the New Indo-Aryan language, e. g. according to

the author the palatal treatment of the consonant group (*jñ*) is not noticed anywhere except the Western (and sometimes N. Western) inscriptions of Asoka (p. XXI). Had we possessed similar synoptic tables for New Indo-Aryan languages, we could ascertain at a moment's notice the corresponding treatment of this consonant group in these languages. The appearance of these synoptic tables thus makes this work a leading pioneer in Indo-Aryan Linguistics in this respect and shows how urgent is the need of preparing similar tables for all Indo-Aryan languages. (d) Synoptic tables of this type will render possible the exact evaluation of the conservation or innovation of any dialectical phenomenon and the eventual preparation of a historic isoglossal Atlas of Indo-Aryan.

Quite consistent with the chronological treatment of the dialects concerned is a brief but useful narration of the political history of the period, and in this connection he gives a valuable suggestion (p. XXXVII) that the absence of specifically Eastern tendencies in the Eastern inscriptions of the period (e. g. the change of (*r*) to (*l*) may possibly be attributed to the comparatively weaker political influence of Magadha during the period.

The presentation of the treatise is fairly attractive, in spite of the enormous mass of details presented, so that one could not miss the wood for the trees. Every item detailed e. g. the treatment of the Sanskrit vowel (*r*) just starts with a general statement giving a feature of the phenomenon in question : then follow the details, with enlistment of occurrences from the parallel dialects concerned. After this enlistment, a concluding paragraph, giving the general results, again occurs.

The general conspectus of the linguistic changes given on pp. XII ff. is very illuminating. A happy term 'tendential' has been used for the indication of these consonantal changes which have not yet been universalized (p. XXII) and for which German linguisticians of modern times use the term (*gāngig*) 'in the course of movement.' The importance of fully appreciating this phenomenon cannot be exaggerated. Our philological text-books are still dominated by the principle of the universality of sound laws, with absolutely no exceptions. There is no doubt that this statement, in a sense, is correct, but the reader to whom the phe-

nomena of the type brought to light by the work under review are not known, is likely to take this principle too literally, and to ignore the fact that it takes time for a sound change to be firmly established and that in fact, many sound changes, like the change of a sonant to surd mentioned on p. 298, may struggle for some time, may succeed in affecting a few words but may fail to proceed further and then die, leaving only a few traces behind. The non-appreciation of facts like this is one of the causes why the study of philology in our universities is often degenerated into mere cram. The author, by referring to this vital fact, has rendered a valuable service to the salvation of linguistic studies in the country. Moreover, the author has acutely discerned, not only the fact that sound change may not be universal, at a time, but has also noticed that the speed with which a certain tendency to change e. g. the voicing of intervocalic surd unaspirates, has influenced some regions varies with different vocables: some words may undergo a change much earlier than others.

The inscriptional Prakrit treatment of (*ṛt*) or (*rt*) will be a source of worry and disappointment to those who, with Bloch, have been accustomed to conjure up two water-tight areas of sound correspondence in Indo-Aryan, one with (*t*) the other with (*ṭ*). But the synoptic tables show that this partition occurred only in the 2nd and 3rd centuries B. C.; during later centuries a uniform (*ṭ*) was the overwhelming sound in all areas. Should the philological assumption or the inscriptional readings be revised in this connection? Or rather, may it be assumed that this partition was resumed during the post-inscriptional period?

The synoptic tables on p. 267 show a very notable phenomenon, viz. the preservation of intervocalic [*t*] of the past passive participle in all inscriptional Prakrits. This is all the more remarkable because the terminational (*t*) tended to be weaker than the non-terminational.

Now in the interest of progress, the following lines of criticism on this valuable treatise may not be out of place:—

(1) The work is confined to phonology and morphology. Considering the huge task already accomplished by the treatise after the stress and strain of 4 years, it would be ungenerous to expect from the author any extension of the lines of his study.

But in the interest of Linguistics, the work should be taken as unfinished unless the aspects of vocabulary (including idiom) and syntax have also been handled with equal thoroughness. The present reviewer, after 25 years' continuous study of linguistics, is now tending to think that it is a matter of life and death for Linguistics to emphasize much more the study of vocabulary, semantics and syntax than the other aspects for it is the former aspects which could attract more readily the attention of the layman, and philological text books could be made more attractive to the beginner if they could be started with these aspects. The reviewer makes this remark on the basis of many tests which he tried with laymen. The latter evinced something like a thrill when the romance of words was presented to them. The average educated man in the country is still unaware of the existence of this subject. If presented in the semantic form in the first instance, it is likely to be extended much more than one could expect.

The preparation of reverse synoptic tables, e. g. Prakrit-Sanskrit, will be even more desirable in those occurrences where we find a single Prakrit sound going back to several Sanskrit sounds, e. g. Prakrit [ *ññ* ] goes back to several Sanskrit sounds like [ *jñ* ] and [ *ny* ]. This would be laborious indeed, but will be very useful for ready reference.

That the literary Prakrits mark a definitely later stage over the one reached at the end of inscriptional Prakrits could be definitely accepted, if it could be confirmed by actual inscriptions occurring during the period of the literary Prakrits. Perhaps subsequent research may actually bring to light inscriptions parallel to literary Prakrits.

It is curious that we miss entirely the treatment of the dental nasal consonant [ *n* ] in the synoptic tables, though that of the cerebral nasal [ *ṇ* ] has been given on p. 212. Nevertheless, the author's remark on p. XXIX that many forms in the West and N. West show [ *n* ] will be news to those who assume the universality of the [ *ṇ* ] of literary Prakrit as an axiomatic truth. We look forward to a systematic treatise on literary Prakrits in the light of inscriptional Prakrits. Dr. Mehendale's work easily paves the way for it.

We also miss the treatment of Sanskrit intervocalic double consonants like [t̥t̥] in the synoptic tables. These sounds have offered to the Indo-Aryan philologist lot of material for discussion and wide conclusions. Perhaps this item has been omitted, as the author on page XXXII states that [t̥t̥] always becomes [t̥] in Prakrit inscriptions, but thoroughness required some mention of this item in some corner of the synoptic tables. It is curious that the synoptic tables on p. 217 should not show any treatment for [k̥s̥] in the North-west after the 3rd century B. C. Even Burrow (*The Language of the Kharosthi Documents*, p. 18) gives *ch* as the form corresponding to [k̥s̥] and cites many examples such as (*Chetra*), (*Yogāchema*) etc. Even the corrigenda table does not point out this discrepancy. Similarly the tables on p. 215 do not show any form corresponding to [r̥] after the 3rd century B. C. in the North-West. Burrow, however gives forms like (*raja*), etc. in which (*r̥*) occurs. The Corrigenda column shows no correction in this respect. The present reviewer is unable to follow the omission of the treatment of many other sounds as well under the heading North-West in the synoptic tables.

In spite of the above limitations, the treatise is an eminent landmark in the development of Indian linguistics for its two most conspicuous new perspectives, viz, 'horizontal' comparisons and space-time treatment. The inspiration from Dr. S. M. Katre is transparent in the treatise. Dr. Katre may befittingly be congratulated on his success in inspiring so many researchers to entirely new and fruitful lines of investigation.

Siddheshwar Varma,



**Dr. C. KUNHAN RAJA PRESENTATION VOLUME**  
( Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume Committee,  
Adyar Library, Madras 1946, pp. XXVIII + 522 )

Organizers of the Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume Committee deserve congratulations for presenting a Volume of Indological studies to Dr. C. Kunhan Raja of Madras in appreciation of his contributions to Indological studies during the last twentyfive years. The idea of presenting a volume was conceived in August 1944, the Committee constituted for the purpose issued their appeal in October 1944 and the volume was actually presented to Dr. Kunhan Raja in October 1946 on the occasion of the 13th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur. This speaks for the speed and energy with which the Committee worked in spite of adverse conditions.

The volume opens with the Prefatory Note by the Secretaries of the Committee, which is followed by a biographical sketch of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja by Capt. G. Srinivasa Murti. It expounds in detail the various achievements of the learned scholar. This is supplemented by an Appendix giving a list of books published and papers contributed to various Indological journals by Dr. Raja. The number of books so far published is 32 which are devoted to different subjects like the Vedas and Upaniṣads, Mīmāṃsā, Grammar etc. The papers contributed also cover a wide field of subjects and have already exceeded a century. The literary activities of Dr. Raja, apart from his University work, are mainly twofold, namely Vedic research and organizing Mss. libraries in India. The volume and solidity of literary work so far done by him have won for Dr. Raja a place among the foremost Indological scholars of the present generation. His achievements have rightly entitled him to the honour that is done to him by this volume.

The main body of this volume consists of fiftytwo articles dealing with different subjects like the Veda, Religion and philosophy, History, Archaeology and Epigraphy, Philology, Epics, Classical Sanskrit, Technical Sciences etc. contributed by scholars in India as well as abroad. Space does not permit to go into the details of each article. Suffice it to say that most of the articles are solid contributions to the knowledge of the subject concerned. The volume is indispensable to scholars of Indology in general.

C. G. Kashikar

VARUNA KĪ NAUKĀ—Part II (Hindi, by Priyavrata  
Vedavācaspati, published by Mukhyādhiṣṭhātā, Gurukulā,  
Kangri, U. P. Sainvat 2004 [1947 A. D.] pp. 274)

This is the 17th volume of the Svādhyāya-Mañjarī of Gurukulā, Kangri, and is meant for a present to the members of the Śraddhānanda Smāraka Nidhi sponsored by the Gurukulā Viśva-vidyālaya in memory of the late Svāmi Śraddhānanda, the founder of the Gurukulā. The book is the second part of the work. According to the author, hymns to Varuṇa are an expression of the sense of devotion of a devotee to his beloved deity. The work forms a paraphrase of the hymns called "Varuṇa kī Naukā". The part under review gives a paraphrase in Hindi of eight hymns to Varuṇa, three from the Rgveda (VII. 88; 89; VIII. 41) and five from the Atharvaveda (I. 10; IV. 16; V. 1; 11; VII. 83). The author who seems to be a follower of the Āryasamāja school, has explained the hymns in a way peculiar to his school, and has brought out the work for the benefit of the same. Varuṇa is to him the Omnipotent, Omnipresent and Omniscient God, the Brahma of the Vedānta, and the singer of the hymns a devotee worshipping Him for the attainment of Salvation. The book will serve the purpose for which it is meant.

C. G. Kashikar

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RGVEDAVYAKHYĀ MĀDHAVAKRTĀ—Part II (Edited  
by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, published by Adyar Library,  
• Madras, 1947, pp. viii + 473 to 817, Price Rs. 15)

The book under review is the Besant Centenary Volume published by the Adyar Library and bears No. 61 of the Adyar Library Series. The first part of Mādhava's commentary on the Rgveda (Aṣṭaka I, Adhyāyas 1-4) was edited by Dr. Raja and published by the Adyar Library in 1939 as No. 22 of the Adyar Library Series. The present volume contains the remaining part of the first Aṣṭaka. i. e. Adhyāyas 5-8. Pages 473 to 536 were first published in the Adyar Library Bulletin (February and May 1943, May 1944). The commentary is available for the first Aṣṭaka only and it is reproduced from the only Ms. of the work, Nq. XIX L 52 deposited in the Adyar Library. This second part of the book is exactly on the same lines as the first. The Rgveda mantra is followed by Mādhava's commentary on the same, which is again followed by the commentary of another Mādhava,

son of Venkatārya, in smaller type for the sake of comparison. The latter commentary, called the Rgarthadīpikā, has been printed by Dr. L. Sarup upto the 6th Maṇḍala. The commentary of Venkaṭa Mādhava printed in the present book is based on Mss. of the work in the Adyar Library, even though the printed text was also consulted.

The Ms. of Mādhava's commentary which is reproduced in this book, is corrupt and not properly preserved. Letters are here and there lost, being worm-eaten. The number of scribal errors is also considerable. The editor has printed the text as it is in the Ms. and has given his emendations in the foot-notes. One rather feels that it would have been better, had the emended readings been incorporated in the main work and the corrupt readings in the Ms. given in the foot-notes. This would have rendered the matter more readable without any loss to critical method.

As the editor has pointed out, "there is close resemblance between this commentary and the commentary of Mādhava, son of Venkatārya; sometimes there is complete identity even in wording". Both these commentators explain the Rgvedic words in the same sequence in which they appear in the mantra itself. On the other hand, Udgītha and Sāyaṇa pick up the words for explanation as they deem fit for bringing out the purport of the mantra. The commentaries of the two Mādhavas are not as comprehensive as those of Udgītha and Sāyaṇa. However, they contain some important remarks which are a valuable aid to the interpretation of the Rgveda. The most important point about the present commentary is, that it is the earliest commentary available on the Rgveda. There are certain other commentaries on the Rgveda also available in part. It is quite essential to bring out all the available commentaries not only on the Rgveda, but of all the Saṁhitās, so that they may provide material for compiling a history of the Vedic interpretation as well as for proving that the knowledge of the Vedas has come down by an unbroken chain of tradition. We hope Dr. Raja will find leisure to compile a detailed introduction to Mādhava's commentary as promised.

The work is a valuable addition to the Vedic section of Sanskrit literature and lovers of Indology are thankful to the editor for his efforts in bringing out the same.

C. G. Kashikar

**BHARATĪYA-DRAVYAGUṆA-GRANTHAMĀLĀ** by Shri  
Ramesh Bedi, Himalaya Herbal Institute, Gurukula  
Kangri.

We have had occasion to notice in an earlier issue of the *Annals* some valuable monographs on Indian drugs by Śrī Ramesh Bedi, Director, Himalaya Herbal Institute, Lahore. Since this notice was published Śrī Bedi had to leave Lahore owing to the partition of India, leaving all his belongings, including his stock of Āyurvedic publications, to the mercy of fanatics at Lahore. In spite of the vandalism at Lahore from which Śrī Bedi escaped safely but lost all his literary goods and other property, Śrī Bedi remained undaunted and with the help of sympathetic friends at the Gurukul Vishvavidyalaya, at Gurukul Kangri ( Haridwar, U. P. ) has resumed his important work on the *Bhāratiya-Dravya-guṇa-Granthamālā*, which is an Encyclopaedia of Indian Drugs projected by him in Hindi for the benefit of experts and laymen in the field of Indian Medicine and Botany. As the old stock of his monographs in this series was lost or destroyed at Lahore, Śrī Bedi has brought out the following new editions of some of the monographs :—

( 1 ) *Lahasūn : Pyāj* ( Revised and enlarged edition of Śrī Bedi's monograph on Garlic and Onion with a Foreword by Dr. G. P. Majumdar of the Presidency College, Calcutta, Pages 197, Price Rs. 2-8-0.

( 2 ) *Tulasī* ( Holy Basil ) Second Edition, revised and enlarged, Pages 178, Price Rs. 2-0-0 ( with a Foreword by P. K. Gode.)

( 3 ) *Sonūth* ( Ginger ) 3rd edition revised and enlarged, ( with a Foreword by Prof. Rāmarakṣa Pathak of the Āyurvedic College, Gurukul ) Pages 146, Price Rs. 1-8-0.

( 4 ) *Dehātī Ilāj* ( Village Remedies ) 2nd edition with a Foreword by Pandit Siva Śarmā, dedicated to Mahatma Gandhiji, Pages 82, Price Rs. 1-0-0.

Each of these monographs contains a topical index which enhances its reference value.

Now that India has attained Independence the study of the Āyurveda has received a new impetus after almost a century of suppression by the European systems of medicine. For a thorough exploitation of the wealth of Indian drugs and its

application for therapeutic purposes and accurate knowledge of these drugs in their cultural and historical perspective along with scientific information about them is absolutely necessary and we feel no doubt that Śrī Bedi's monographs in Hindi the national language of India, will not fail to popularise Indian drugs among the masses of India and thus lead to their wider use throughout the confines of this Bhāratavarṣa.

P. K. Gode

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VEŚYĀ (Synonyms and Aphorisms) by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach  
(Poland), Bhāratīya Vidyā Miscellany, 1945; Pages 72.

This is an exhaustive monograph containing the synonyms and aphorisms about *Veśyā*. It is replete with much linguistic and cultural material about venal love. The common meaning of the word "*Veśyā*" is "prostitute" but the present study takes note of a large number of other expressions for "*Veśyā*." Not less than 235 synonyms from the Sanskrit literature are recorded in this monograph together with about 100 aphorisms referring to "*Veśyā*." According to the author "there is no other language which contains more synonyms or possesses more beautiful aphorisms on this theme."

Originally some of the expressions recorded here were used in a different sense but later on they came to be used in the sense of "a prostitute" as vouched by the extant lexicons. This fact has been indicated by the author with asterisks before the pertinent synonyms. The synonyms are arranged in an alphabetical order while the aphorisms are recorded with their English translation in different groups according to their contents. Though the present list of synonyms is by no means exhaustive it is extremely useful to the serious students of Indian linguistics and culture. We, therefore, congratulate Dr. Sternbach on the preparation and publication of his present scholarly monograph which is the fruit of his arduous labour of years in a specialized field of research.

P. K. Gode

GURUKULA-PATRIKĀ Vol. I, No. 1 (in Hindi) — A monthly Journal edited by Shri Ramesh Bedi and Shri Sukhadeva and published on behalf of the Gurukula Viśvavidyālaya, Gurukula Kangdi, Hardwar.

The Gurukula Patrikā is one of the many new Journals which have been recently started in India in Hindi. This Journal is being edited by the Joint-editors Pt. Ramesh Bedi and Shri Sukhadeva, who have received their education in the famous Gurukula Viśvavidyālaya. The Gurukula, which has been doing excellent work in the sphere of education during the last half a century according to the old traditions of learning, deserves the warmest support of all admirers and devotees of learning. The Gurukula has only recently started its own Journal for the revival of our ancient Indian culture and other allied subjects. The Gurukula has developed from a small Pāṭhaśālā into a large residential University and it is but proper that it should have its own Journal.

There was a time when people were not attracted towards the study of different subjects through the medium of Hindi—our would be national language. But with the departure of the foreigners from our soil since the golden day of Indian Independence—the 15th of August 1947, we have been gradually learning the importance of Hindi. The study of English language will slowly recede into background in India. We, therefore, heartily welcome this new Hindi Journal.

Pt. Ramesh Bedi, the joint editor of the Gurukula-Patrikā needs no introduction. He has already made his name as an author of several medical monographs such as *Triphalā*, *Somth*, *Tuḥsi*, *Dehātī Ilāj* and *Lahsun*. He has made a deep study of the Ancient Indian Plant lore. He had founded the Himalaya Herbal Institute at Lahore and was doing excellent work but owing to the political vicissitudes consequent upon the partition of India, he had to leave Lahore and through much hardship and trouble at last came to the Gurukula his alma-mater. Pt. Bedi

deserves all praise for his courage and unflinching faith. Within a short time he could succeed in starting the above Journal with the help of the authorities of this Viśvavidyālaya.

This first number of the Patrikā contains several interesting and informative articles among which mention may be made of 'The Future of Indian Culture' by Haridatta Vedālamkāra, 'The History of Spectacles' by P. K. Gode, 'The Place of potato in Diet' by Pt. Ramesh Bedi *etc.* The motto of Patrikā—'Tamaso mā jyotirgamaya'—'Lead me from darkness to light' aptly indicates what the Patrikā stands for. We hope the editors Pt. Sukhadeva and Pt. Ramesh Bedi will carry on their good work and give us still more interesting articles in the future numbers of the Patrikā and thus achieve their object of the spread of knowledge among the masses through the medium of Hindi.

S. N. Savadi

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